Carey Estes Kefauver

LATE A SENATOR FROM
TENNESSEE

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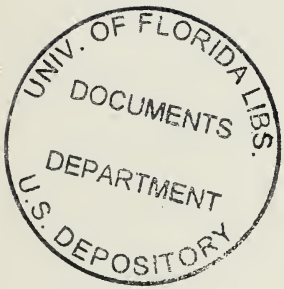

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Memorial Services

HELD IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH
REMARKS PRESENTED IN EULOGY OF

Carey Estes Kefauver

LATE A SENATOR FROM
TENNESSEE

U.S

Eighty-eighth Congress
First Session

UNITED STATES
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Biography

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER was born on a farm near Madisonville, Monroe County, Tenn., July 26, 1903; attended the public schools; was graduated from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville in 1924 and from the law department of Yale University, New Haven, Conn., in 1927; was admitted to the bar in 1926 and commenced practice in Chattanooga, Tenn., in 1927; unsuccessful candidate for the State senate in 1936; served as State commissioner of finance and taxation from January to May 1939 but resigned to become a candidate for Congress; elected as a Democrat to the Seventy-sixth Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Sam D. McReynolds; reelected to the Seventy-seventh and to the three succeeding Congresses and served from September 13, 1939, to January 3, 1949; did not seek renomination in 1948; elected to the United States Senate in 1948; reelected in 1954, and again in 1960, and served from January 3, 1949, until his death in the naval hospital at Bethesda, Md., August 10, 1963; was the Democratic nominee for Vice President of the United States in 1956; interment in the family cemetery, Madisonville, Tenn.

Proceedings
in the
United States Senate

Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, *August 12, 1963.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou God of the living, and of the living dead. From all the maddening maze of things that press, we pause for a hushed moment at this altar of Thy grace, vividly conscious of how swiftly and often how suddenly ebbs out life's little day.

Thou knowest the sadness that grips our spirits as we come this shadowed day, mourning the passing from this mortal stage of a public servant whose stalwart form but brief hours ago stood in his accustomed place in this free forum he loved, and lifted up his voice for measures his conscience told him were in the best interests of the Republic. Now that voice is stilled, as once again, in the broken fellowship of this storied body, our startled hearts are saying—

We hear it each and all—
A song of those who answer not
However we may call.
We see them as of yore,
Who walk with us no more.

We thank Thee for the valiant stewardship rendered with fidelity to the Nation by Thy servant, ESTES KEFAUVER, as he played his part with ability and dedication in epic times.

We bear witness that he was never tonguetied by the selfish, yet gilded, lies which threaten to eat out the national fiber and caliber. What he has written, he has written as he sought to expose devious evils by letting in the light of day.

Outside these hallowed walls, where so long he served, we glimpse a legion of friends his genial nature bound to him in a loyalty strong as steel.

Grant, we pray, the consolations of Thy grace to the dear companion of the strenuous, yet challenging years, and to

each member of the stricken family who sits this hour in a bowed circle of grief.

So teach us to number our remaining days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom, and at last, like him whose potent voice will be heard no more, may we finish our course in faith, having fought the good fight.

We ask it in the name of the Master he acknowledged as Lord of all. Amen.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, today it is my sad duty—which I perform with a heavy heart, a sense of personal loss, and a sense of great loss to my country—to announce that on August 10, my senior colleague and my personal friend, ESTES KEFAUVER, passed this life.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I should like to join the distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore] in saying that I, too, am deeply moved at the loss in the passing of our friend, ESTES KEFAUVER.

He was a man of great intellect and great ability. He was a practicing idealist in the finest sense of the term.

Mr. DIRKSEN. The passing of "the man in the coonskin cap" comes as a real shock. We served together in the House and in the Senate for more than 16 years, and I counted him one of my real friends.

Probably no one in this body differed with him more sharply than did the minority leader; but there was a fixed and lasting quality about his pursuit of justice and truth and the well-being of the Republic.

I am shocked, indeed, by his passing. He has made a great contribution to the well-being of the Republic.

I may add, Mr. President, that the coonskin cap was not a mere political ornament; it was a symbol of the frontiersman, the pioneer, and the crusader that ESTES KEFAUVER really was.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I submit a resolution, which I send to the desk; and I request its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 180) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed, to as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, late a Senator from the State of Tennessee.

Resolved, That a committee of Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an engrossed copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore, under the second resolving clause, appointed the following Senators to constitute, together with the Vice President, the committee on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator:

Mr. Gore, Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Dirksen, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Holland, Mr. Long of Louisiana, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Monroney, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Hruska, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Church, Mr. Morton, Mr. Yarborough, Mr. Gruening, Mr. Hart, Mr. McGee, Mrs. Neuberger, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. McIntyre, Mr. Brewster, and Mr. Inouye.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the fourth resolving clause of the resolution, the Senate now stands adourned until 12 o'clock noon, tomorrow.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 7 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, August 13, 1963, at 12 o'clock meridian.

TUESDAY, *August 13, 1963.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. ESTES KEFAUVER, late a Senator from the State of Tennessee.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, bowing at this wayside shrine where spirit with spirit may meet, we thank Thee for the ministry

of prayer through whose mystic doors we may escape from the prosaic humdrum of "day-by-day-ness" and, lifted to a wider perspective, return illumined and empowered.

As today in the setting of his southern home in the State which gave him to the Nation all that is mortal of an honored Member of this body who fell at his post is laid to rest, and as towering figures thus disappear from our sight and side, we pray that from the cloud of witnesses which surround us the mantle of those who refused to barter their convictions for any price that could be offered may fall upon the shoulders of all in the Nation's councils who are striving in the most difficult and dangerous days the Republic has known to make our free land as great in virtue and truth as she is mighty in power.

For Thine is the power and the kingdom, for whose coming we pray. Amen.

THURSDAY, *October 24, 1963.*

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the legislative business of the Senate will be suspended, pursuant to Senate Resolution 216, which the clerk will state.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 216) reading as follows:

Resolved, That on Thursday, October 24, 1963, at 2 o'clock postmeridian, the legislative business of the Senate be suspended to permit the delivery of memorial addresses on the life, character, and public service of Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, late a Senator from the State of Tennessee.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, in accordance with the order previously entered, and as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Senator from Tennessee, Mr. KEFAUVER, I move that the Senate recess until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 44 minutes p.m.) the Senate, under the order previously entered, took a recess until Monday, October 28, 1963, at 12 o'clock meridian.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, with the passing of the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, the people lost a champion and a true friend.

Perhaps it would appear to some trite to say that ESTES KEFAUVER was a man of the people. But he was, and he never forgot it.

Moreover, with the passing of ESTES KEFAUVER, his family lost a loving husband, father, brother, and relative; and his friends lost one who possessed a gentleness of spirit and personality found all too seldom.

ESTES KEFAUVER was tolerant, understanding, generous, always willing to consider the other man's point of view, and inclined many times to yield his own point of view to that of others, if it had strong merit.

Working relations between Senator KEFAUVER and me were of the best. The personal equation between us was a pleasant one, and particularly grew warm and pleasant during the last years we served together when we had so many common problems which required solution. So when I say he was gentle, tolerant, and considerate, I speak from an abundance of experience.

In his public life, he was a true champion of the public interest. This came first with him. ESTES KEFAUVER was a U.S. Senator in the fullest meaning of that term. His colleagues would have great difficulty recalling any instance when he took a narrow, sectional point of view. True, he loyally represented the State of Tennessee and its people; but he represented, too, his Nation and his fellow Americans.

Mr. President, I think that, along with Jackson, Hull, Polk, and Johnson, ESTES KEFAUVER will be remembered generously in history as one of Tennessee's great.

Possessed of indomitable spirit, unflagging courage, and energy that upon many occasions seemed to me beyond human capacity, he was an implacable foe of the crooks, the

cheats, and the frauds, and an inveterate enemy of the specially privileged and of those who sought to further their own will and interest to the detriment of the public good.

The family of the late Senator KEFAUVER are in the gallery. To each of them, I extend now the warmest of sympathy, the deepest of understanding, and a sharing of their great loss. But to each of them, also, I extend congratulations for ESTES KEFAUVER.

Mr. President, I desire to read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND
INSULAR AFFAIRS,
October 21, 1963.

Hon. ALBERT GORE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ALBERT: In accordance with our conversation regarding this Thursday, October 24, the day set aside by the Senate for Senator KEFAUVER's eulogy, I am enclosing my remarks which you have so graciously consented to read for me.

I am also enclosing a copy of my letter to Senator Mansfield, explaining my absence at this solemn time, and asking that he read it into the Record.

With kindest regards, I am,
Sincerely,

HERBERT S. WALTERS.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed the letter to the Senator from Montana [Mr. Mansfield].

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE
AND FORESTRY,
October 21, 1963.

Hon. MIKE MANSFIELD,
The Capitol, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MANSFIELD: On Thursday, October 24, the Senate will voice its sorrow over the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER and will pay fitting tribute to his memory.

It is distressing for me to have to report to you that I will be unable to be present on this occasion. Unfortunately, several months prior to the notice I received only last Friday, setting the date of Senator KEFAUVER's eulogy, I had made some important engagements in Tennessee, and it was impossible for me to make any changes at this late date.

I have asked my colleague, Senator Albert Gore, to read what I would have said personally if I could have been with you. It would be most gracious of you, as majority leader, to also read this letter clarifying my absence at this solemn time.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely,

HERBERT S. WALTERS.

TRIBUTE BY SENATOR WALTERS

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, at this time I should like to read the remarks of my distinguished junior colleague [Mr. Walters], who at this time is unavoidably absent:

REMARKS OF SENATOR WALTERS AT THE U.S. SENATE EULOGY SERVICES FOR SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

Tennessee, the Nation, and the world mourn the passing of a great man.

The Volunteer State has always contributed its share of leaders for the effective representation of our State and our country. Andrew Jackson, Andrew Johnson, and James K. Polk, three of Tennessee's sons, rose to the highest office in the land and history will echo their names along with those of Cordell Hull, John Sevier, and Sam Houston.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a leader of that stature. It is from the unique position as his successor in this great deliberate body that I can speak with authority as to the magnitude of his work. His rugged individualism and singleness of purpose may have aroused the ire of many, but there is no one who can question the dedication to service of mankind that motivated ESTES KEFAUVER's life.

I, as some of you, had my differences with him, but never once did his conduct ever command anything but my highest respect. He was honest and sincere in his unshakable belief that the things he fought for were for the ultimate good of all and for this he must be admired.

Those of us who epitomize his work today can draw much from another characteristic of ESTES KEFAUVER; his word was his bond. During the years I served as a member of the Democratic National Committee I had contact with people from every part of the country and it was agreed by all that knew him or had any dealings with him that he was a person who would never go back on his word.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a man to whom honesty and trust were the watchwords of his career.

It is indeed fitting for us to pay homage and tribute to one who carried out the oath of office to which he so nobly subscribed, and it can be said that beyond a doubt ESTES KEFAUVER kept his word to all to the end.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the man in the coonskin cap is gone. Just 36 hours after his last speech on this floor, mortality turned to immortality and his fascinating career came to an end. It is a stark reminder of the unpredictability of life and how uncertain this mortal journey can be.

For more than 16 years, I served with ESTES KEFAUVER in the House and Senate. The coonskin cap was not a political ornament in his life. Rather it was a fitting symbol of the frontiersman, exploring new ground, venturing into uncharted hills and valleys of a complicated economic domain.

What shall I say of a man, a friend, a colleague, a Senator with whom I disagreed so often, whose purposes I sought to frustrate, if possible, with whom I fought fiercely over differences in viewpoint both in committee and on the Senate floor year in and year out? What does one say about such an adversary?

He was a gentleman. That says much. Differ as we did, it was in a friendly spirit. Never have I seen him angry. Our exchanges could be sharp and to the point. In lesser men, they might have excited a deep and continuing anger. But never in him. He exemplified as did no other person in my acquaintance, that old biblical admonition, to let not the sun set on one's anger.

His fixity of purpose marked him as one with a definite and precise mission in life. He was indeed a crusader. Sharp criticism, sarcasm, efforts to impeach his position on public matters never diverted him from his convictions and his firm purposes. His patience always remained intact. Rail at him as one might, dismember his arguments if one could, discredit his purposes if that were possible, and scold him if it seemed to accomplish a purpose, his patience was always intact, his persistence was unyielding, and his conviction unshaken.

His sense of mission was a many-splendored thing. Outstanding was his zeal for little people, for little business, for a true competitive system under which young and old, rich and poor, might have an equal chance. His investigations in the antitrust and monopoly field were a testimony to an

iron determination that our competitive system must be made to work justly and equitably. Whether these investigations took place in the field of milk or bread, motor cars or steel, insurance or electrical equipment, the objective was always the same; namely, to lift the hand of monopoly from little people that they too might survive and prosper. Our differences and disagreements were more often over method than objective, but having charted a course, he stood by it to the very end.

His courage was limitless. He knew even as I knew that there were many who disagreed with his philosophy of government and with his methods. In his long and varied political career there must have been many pressures upon him. As an elected official there must have been times when he had to equate these pressures in terms of a continuing career in the Senate. Regardless of what they were, he never qualified, he never faltered, he never compromised where principle and conviction were involved.

Mr. President, mankind does not produce many Kefauvers, men who are willing to face up to abuse and sharp criticism for a cause, men who are willing, if need be, to endure the rupture of friendships for a cause, men who even though in physical pain or moral anguish will not relent in the pursuit of truth and right as they understand it, men who can brush aside frustration and start over again where a compelling goal beckons them on, men who move slowly with poise and purpose but never walk backward, men who in the bright fanfare of a political career never forget their humble beginnings, and men who are resolute to the end.

But such a man was Estes Kefauver, and as I watched all that was mortal committed to earth on that farm on the outskirts of the little town of Madisonville, Tenn., where he was born, I thought of the stately sturdy oaks amid which the service was held. He was truly one of mankind's sturdy oaks until a divine hand snatched him away. I shall always salute his memory as a foeman to be respected; admired and loved as a friend.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, it was my good fortune to come to know ESTES KEFAUVER two decades ago, when we served together in the House of Representatives. I have followed his career of dedicated public service with admiration and respect ever since. He was an honest, straightforward man whose gentle nature belied the sharp mind and keen insight God gave him. His respect for the institutions of our democracy was overshadowed only by his devotion to its people. As a campaigner he had no peer. He loved the people and they loved him. His campaigns for national office, which took him across the country many times, left a deep and lasting impression on the millions who saw him and felt his famous handshake. His passing took from the Senate a champion of the people who have no lobby but the ballot box.

The zeal which marked his guardianship of the public interest won him national fame as a foe of crime, monopoly, and greed. While his reputation as a legislator sprang from investigations which often captured the headlines, many quiet acts of courage marked his service in this body. In the hysteria of the McCarthy era his was a calm voice which rose above the tempest. When, in that same emotional climate, an effort was made to restrict the treatymaking powers of the President, Senator KEFAUVER was a leader in opposition to it. We were companions in many of these struggles in those dark days and I drew strength from him.

His service as chairman of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation is a testimonial to his concern for the public welfare. Enactment of the drug safety bill last year was due in large measure to the fact that Senator KEFAUVER and his staff, as the New Republic put it, "knew more about the drug industry than the industry knew about itself." This measure is typical of the progressive legislation ESTES KEFAUVER sponsored. Gentleness and good humor marked his demeanor but, as many a witness before him discovered, his placid exterior concealed an astute and probing intellect.

Although he was not a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he had a keen interest in foreign affairs. As Senators know, he was always especially concerned about the position of the United States in the Atlantic community. Shortly after his election to the Senate some 15 years ago, he stressed the need for increased cooperation among the countries of the North Atlantic. In 1949, when the NATO treaty was before the Senate for ratification, he described it as an "interim measure, a measure that will gain the time needed to explore in peace a far more promising prospect—the possibility of eventually uniting the democracies of the North Atlantic by our own basic Federal principles into a great Atlantic Union of the free." While many difficult obstacles must be surmounted before his dream is realized, events of recent years prove the wisdom of his objective. He repeatedly sponsored the Atlantic Union resolution to establish a convention of representative citizens from NATO countries to explore avenues through which greater political and economic unity might be achieved. Its adoption in 1960 was the culmination of his untiring efforts. Senator KEFAUVER, on six occasions, was a delegate to the NATO Parliamentarians Conference, and in 1961 he served as chairman of the U.S. delegation. As a member of the political committees of these conferences he made invaluable contributions and it was largely due to his efforts that the Conference of NATO Nations was held in Paris last year. No man worked as hard in promoting the concept of Atlantic unity. A long time associate and friend, Edward J. Meeman, of the Memphis Press-Scimitar paid this tribute to him:

> I will wage that he will have a great place in history as the statesman, who, more than any other, pioneered in behalf of the federation of the free.

The storms that threaten the Atlantic alliance today reflect the enormity of the task which ESTES KEFAUVER charted. It is to be hoped that the wisdom of his counsel will finally prevail.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a great American in the best tradition of public spirited Tennesseans—Jackson, Polk and Johnson,

Crockett, and Hull. His name will rank with theirs in the history of his State. His populist spirit and philosophy were drawn from the springs of independence and courage that have watered American history. A Democrat in every sense of the word, his career marked by a steadfast faith in the people of America—a faith which through their reciprocation brought him close to the highest office in the land.

I miss him. The Senate misses him. And the people of America miss him. The extent of the Nation's loss was, perhaps, best expressed by the editorial writer of the Arkansas Gazette who began his tribute simply, "ESTES KEFAUVER was one of the really good ones."

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I join all other Senators in paying tribute to our departed friend.

I knew and was closely associated with ESTES KEFAUVER for almost a quarter of a century. I was first elected to Congress in 1936, and about 2 years later ESTES was elected. Our districts adjoined. Our towns were about 100 miles apart. We were neighbors in more ways than one. I remember that back in the days when we were getting ready for World War II, when we were interested in having war plants located in our districts, ESTES and I often worked together to try to locate a plant in either his district or my district or on the line somewhere, that would be helpful.

I worked with him closely in the House of Representatives. I came to the Senate in November of 1946, and 2 years later so did ESTES; and again we were closely associated. For several years we sat side by side in the Chamber.

I had the opportunity to go on trips with ESTES in connection with national defense and other programs in which our Government was interested, and I witnessed his tireless, diligent, able work in that connection.

Furthermore, we were neighbors in the true sense of the word, in the District of Columbia. We lived only one or two blocks apart; at one time we lived only three houses apart.

We attended the same church. It was always a pleasure and delight to see the Kefauvers come to church and to Sunday school. It was not a matter of sending the children to Sunday school. It was not a matter of one member of the family coming to church, but they attended as a family.

Many times have I seen him playing with his children. He was a family man. He loved his family and gave them a great deal of attention.

I campaigned with ESTES. I echo the words expressed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright] that "as a campaigner he had no peer."

I recall that early one morning during the 1956 campaign, when he was a candidate for Vice President, a long-distance telephone call from Kentucky woke me up to say that ESTES was to campaign throughout that day but that he was ill with a bad throat. I was asked if I could come down there and pinch-hit for ESTES. I said that I could not get there. I was then told that a schedule had already been arranged, so I went down to Kentucky and spent the day, and far into the night, trying to pinch-hit for ESTES. However, I felt my total inadequacy in matching this great man who had become a tradition, "the man with the coonskin cap," who, on the campaign trail, could not be equaled.

I knew him in his work in the Senate. I was closely associated with him. He was a member of the Small Business Committee when he was in the House of Representatives, and I was also a member of the same committee, and he and I often discussed small-business matters. I was associated with him in connection with various resolutions which he presented to the House of Representatives, and also to the Senate—one of which was the proposed amendment to the Constitution with reference to the electoral college. The Senate at one time passed that joint resolution. I am not sure whether it was after he entered the Senate. Perhaps it was before—it was originally known as the Lodge-Gossett joint resolution, but when those two Members left and when Senator KEFAUVER was in the Senate and Senator Lodge was

gone, Senator KEFAUVER became the principal sponsor, and the Senate passed it by an overwhelming vote.

I was glad to hear the Senator from Arkansas mention his interest in building a strong Western alliance, an Atlantic community, which has been accomplished as a result, in part, of some of the work he did. It is still in an evolutionary process. The NATO Parliamentarians Conference, which is to meet a week from now in Paris, has on its agenda further consideration of solidifying the underpinnings of NATO and the Western European nations.

I could name many matters in which he was interested. He was a dedicated public servant. He was able and courageous; but he had another characteristic which I felt attached to him more strongly than to any other Member of the Senate—he was tenacious. When he got hold of something he believed in, he could not be shaken loose.

In short, ESTES KEFAUVER was an able legislator, a courageous legislator, a good citizen, a good man. We shall long miss him in this body.

A while ago the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore] touched on a point I should like to emphasize, when he said that in a way congratulations were in order. I often think that the grief we mortals suffer when someone close to us passes away should be moderated by gratitude for what their loved one did while he was living here with us. Today the country can be thankful that ESTES KEFAUVER lived and that he served so well throughout the years.

I join in extending sympathy to Nancy, his lovely widow, to the children, to his sisters, and to other members of his family. America has lost a great and fine citizen.

Mr. McINTYRE. Mr. President, I find it most difficult to express my feelings on this day dedicated to the memory of ESTES KEFAUVER. Since I am a comparative newcomer in this distinguished body, I shall speak not only of my association with ESTES, Senator to Senator, but also of our friendship.

For I believe that in the simplicity, honesty, and gentleness of this man we find the roots of his greatness as a Senator.

I would like to quote one of his favorite prayers, by which he tried to live and which I feel reveals his true and deeper nature.

Teach me, my Lord, to be sweet and gentle in all the events of life, in disappointments, in the thoughtlessness of others, in the insincerity of those I trusted, in the unfaithfulness of those on whom I relied.

Let me put myself aside, to think of the happiness of others, to hide my little pains and heartaches, so that I may be the only one to suffer from them. Teach me to profit by the suffering that comes across my path.

Let me so use it that it may mellow me, not harden nor embitter me, that it may make me patient, not irritable, that it may make me broad in my forgiveness, not narrow, haughty and overbearing.

May no one be less good for having come within my influence. No one less pure, less true, less kind, less noble for having been a fellow traveler in our journey toward eternal life.

As I go my rounds from one distraction to another, let me whisper from time to time a word of love to Thee. May my life be lived in the supernatural, full of power for good, and strong in its purpose of sanctity.

It can truly be said that in the death of Estes Kefauver the Nation lost a friend. However, when the news of his passing first reached me, my immediate feeling was one of a deep and irrevocable personal loss. For the instant I could think only—and perhaps selfishly—that my friend and political mentor was gone. This great and good man who had counseled me through most of my political life—no longer could I turn to him for help and advice.

I first shook the hand that was to shake countless thousands of other hands on a crisp New Hampshire morning in January of 1952. The famous crime fighter was in New Hampshire on a quest—for the Presidency of the United States—and he was asking for my help. Somehow, it should have seemed incongruous—this tall Tennessean standing in the snow in New Hampshire, asking a country lawyer to help him become President of the United States. As I think back on it now, it was the most natural thing in the world, for this

man exuded a warmth and sincerity that forged an immediate bond of friendship between us.

Mrs. McIntyre and I worked hard for ESTES in the campaigns of 1952 and 1956, and never shall we expect to find again a person who was so appreciative of assistance, so understanding of mistakes, or so manfully able to accept defeat.

By what name shall we remember ESTES KEFAUVER? crusader? politician? statesman? lawmaker? Well, he was all of these things. Also it was given to him, as it is given to few, the ability to lead and at the same time remain one with the people.

There were those who disagreed with ESTES KEFAUVER, but they were not among the people. There were those who feared ESTES KEFAUVER, but they were not among the people. There were those who felt the wrath of ESTES KEFAUVER, but they were not among the people. And there were those who crushed the hopes of ESTES KEFAUVER, but they were not among the people.

In all of the thousands of words printed in newspapers across America in tribute to Senator KEFAUVER, one line in an editorial in the Kansas City Star sticks in my mind. It said simply: "The voters trusted him."

For during his entire political life he fought to protect the people against the corrupters, the empire builders, and the gangsters. He stood alone more than once, in this very Chamber, to espouse unpopular causes and issues in which he believed. For if ESTES KEFAUVER had a fault, it was that he stubbornly persisted in what he felt was right, whatever the odds. To these causes he gave all of his energies and his time, caring not what physical toll they took on him.

And, so, Mr. President, if the countless thousands of people across this Nation who loved ESTES KEFAUVER as I did and miss him as I do were here with us today, I think they might agree that these lines from Shakespeare's Julius Caesar best sum up our feelings:

> His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world "Here was a man!"

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, in 1954, upon the death of the late Senator from North Carolina, Hon. Clyde Hoey, I had the honor to have ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, become my seatmate. We were seatmates for several years after that date.

Senator KEFAUVER had every right to feel unkindly toward me if he had wished to do so, because he knew I had, in supporting another, opposed him rather vigorously for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1952. I found at once not a trace of vindictiveness in him, never a word or mention of that earlier disagreement, never a word of anything but constructive assistance in the years during which we worked together on a considerable number of issues which came before the Senate.

I enjoyed and appreciated the opportunity to have those years of close association with a man whom I came to admire more and more with each passing month and every passing year.

There are many things I could say, but I shall refer to only one issue, an issue with respect to which we happened to find common ground, and as to which I am more indebted to him than to any other person. The Senate also is indebted to him. It was his passionate belief that all citizens of the United States should have the right to vote, and that that right was a fundamental matter in a government such as ours—the right of active participation in governing this great Nation.

For a long time he had believed that a Federal statute would be adequate to wipe out the poll tax. We talked about it. I told him, whether that were true or not, I did not believe that course was practical, I did not think it could or should be done that way. Furthermore, I thought such a solution could be always subjected to delay, even if it were followed; whereas it seemed to me that the constitutional amendment approach was the desirable, and certainly the practical one, to follow.

After a while he came to the conclusion either that the other approach was impracticable or that the constitutional amendment approach was the better. I do not know what was his reason. But he threw himself into the effort for the repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in Federal elections by means of a constitutional amendment with a degree of devotion and self-abnegation that I have rarely seen.

I know that it was not wholly easy for him to take that position, both in the great committee in which he was serving at the time and as a Senator from a State where there was no unanimity on that subject.

On three different occasions, serving as chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, of the Committee on the Judiciary, he subjected the proposed amendment to careful, exhaustive hearings. When it proved impossible to bring the matter to the Senate otherwise, he was generous enough to help me to attempt to add it to an amendment in which he was deeply interested, and which was then pending on the floor of the Senate. As the record will show, it was placed on that amendment as a second or additional amendment. At that time it was not acceptable to the other body.

In a later year he joined actively and effectively in another effort to bring the matter before the Senate. Without laboring the matter, the Senate approved the proposal by a very large vote, as did the House, and it went to the States for ratification.

The way in which ESTES KEFAUVER devoted himself to the effort to have his State act favorably upon the amendment was but a continuation of the effort that he had shown in the Senate.

A few moments ago another Senator spoke of Senator KEFAUVER's persistence, of his tenacity of purpose. He certainly showed it in this poll tax effort. I shall never forget the great pleasure of seeing the way he looked one morning when he announced from the floor of the Senate that his State

had been the first State of all the Southern States to ratify the proposed constitutional amendment.

That success, I believe, and will always believe, was largely due to his persistence, his tenacity, and his continued effort, in which he was joined by his distinguished colleague, now the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore], and also by his distinguished Governor.

I mention this because I believe it to be important for the Record to clearly show that while he had plenty of time for other interests, in connection with the Atlantic community, in connection with antimonopoly matters, and in connection with various other issues—because he was a Senator of broad interests and of many activities—one of the activities to which he was most devoted and to which he gave much time and effort and energy was the matter of assuring to his fellow citizens the right to cast their ballots in elections for President, Vice President, Senators, and Representatives without the requirement of paying any tax.

I found ESTES KEFAUVER a most gentle man, a most generous man, and yet a most firm and fearless man.

Sometimes we do not think of gentleness, graciousness, charm, and generosity, such as his, as residing in the same individual, who is also a man of unyielding firmness and complete fearlessness. However, these qualities were all present in ESTES KEFAUVER. Just as the Senator from Illinois, the minority leader [Mr. Dirksen], journeyed down to Knoxville and then to Madisonville at the time of the interment of ESTES KEFAUVER, I was one of those who made that sad journey. I will never forget the gracious and lovely manner of Nancy Kefauver and their children on that occasion—in spite of their deep sorrow. They went down and back on the same plane with the Senate group which had been assigned to attend.

Likewise, I could never forget the faces of those thousands of his fellow citizens who were there at Madisonville, and later at the old family plantation, at the family cemetery, to see laid away the man in whom they had implicit trust, the man whom they felt represented them truly and stood for

the things in life that they respected most and desired so greatly.

It was a most impressive occasion. It could not have failed to send every Senator and every other person who had the opportunity to be present back to his duties with inspiration, and the belief that devotion to duty such as ESTES KEFAUVER showed, and such as he lived, makes an impression upon one's fellow citizens, and leaves a place in their hearts which is terribly hard to fill. That kind of expression was present in the faces of the many people who were there—thousands of low estate and of high estate—showing their personal grief because of the passing of one whom they loved and trusted.

Mrs. Holland and I join in expressing our grief and sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and the children. We shall long miss ESTES KEFAUVER in the Senate.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it was not my privilege to serve with our late colleague, ESTES KEFAUVER, on any of the committees on which he served in the Senate. Yet I felt very close to him almost from the time I came to the House of Representatives and found him there until the time of his death while he served in the Senate.

Throughout that time my regard for his great ability, and for his sincere pursuit of the public interest as he saw it, was profound. He came to New Jersey, as he came to many other States, in pursuit of the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. The impression he made upon our New Jersey people was as deep and lasting as it was all over the country; that is to say, very lasting and very deep.

The very characteristics that endeared him to us and that awoke our admiration and respect and that gave us confidence not only in him but also in the great country that he loved so profoundly, somehow communicated themselves to all the people with whom he came into contact in New Jersey and elsewhere.

That his pursuit was not successful in no way diminished the zeal for his service to our country, or his attention to his duties in the Senate.

Among other things, he was a "loner." If there is such a thing as an "establishment" in the Senate, I suppose he was perhaps the most unlikely one to be included in such a group.

Perhaps the Senate is unique in that it includes a number of "loners."

Perhaps one of its chief functions—but not its only function—is to make a place for persons of that kind in our life as a country and in modern society. ESTES KEFAUVER fulfilled both functions—that of a Senator in the true sense, in the fulfillment of all the responsibilities that the office entails, and, in addition, the representative of something unique in American life, a very great symbol of the importance of the individual. In all these ways we shall remember him as long as our memory lasts, and shall mourn his passing.

Mrs. Case joins with me in extending our most tender sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and the children.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, when ESTES KEFAUVER departed the company of living men, our hearts were sad, for we knew that we had lost a friend and a valiant fighter. His large outstretched hand reached across America and grasped the hand of the storekeeper, the housewife, the small businessman, and the farmer. Millions of Americans in all parts of this country and in all walks of life remember the tall Tennessean who, in the spring of 1952, warmly shook their hands and drawled, "I'm ESTES KEFAUVER and I'm running for President. You'll help me, won't you?" His kind, folksy manner endeared him to them, and his determined fight against the forces that would take advantage of those who may not have so much in worldly goods and in opportunity earned for him their lasting gratitude.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a rugged Tennessee mountaineer of hearty pioneer stock. He was born in the land of Andrew Jackson, endowed with his spirit and fight, with his cour-

age and determination. ESTES KEFAUVER's every act would have indicated that he was ever mindful of this rich and fearless heritage. It was only fitting that the coonskin cap should become his symbol. As a star football player for the University of Tennessee, his physical prowess and his endurance won for him the nickname "Old Ironsides." His physical strength was matched by the strength of his character and convictions. ESTES KEFAUVER forthrightly stated his position and would not retreat from a fight in defense of the principles in which he believed. "The glory of man," said Solomon, "is strength." And ESTES KEFAUVER was strong. The eloquent words of Senator John W. Daniel, in tribute to Thomas Jefferson, so fittingly describe the strength of ESTES KEFAUVER:

> He was strong and all powerful in courage; yes, in civic courage, the rarest of all kinds of bravery. All nations are brave in their own way. Massive battalions, thousands strong, will march to death midst flashing bayonets and screaming shells—not a man dropped out of his place. But the courage that faces the sneer of fashion, the scorn of power, the scowl of altered friendship, "the proud man's contumely and the insolence of office"—this is the courage that belongs alone to souls "touched to fine issues" * * * the superb, quiet, patient, daring courage that looks public opinion in the eye and dares confront it and affront it, and not flinch from the encounter.

"KEFAUVER" became a household word as he relentlessly sought out the ganglords of organized crime and vice and alerted all America to the scope of their operations. He was one of the first public figures to use the medium of television to give the American people an insight into the functioning of the committees of Congress and to inform them about a grave national problem. His independence and straightforwardness at times cost him political support and yet he did not compromise a principle for personal gain. He was truly the practicing idealist. ESTES KEFAUVER first won his seat in this body by fighting an uphill battle against what seemed to be insurmountable odds, and as a Member of this body, he never stopped fighting regardless of the obstacles. He was ever alert to safeguard the spirit of our free enterprise system and quick to do battle against those who would

abuse it and through monopolistic practices impose unfair burdens upon the American people.

ESTES KEFAUVER fought for his people and he nobly strived for peace and justice for the whole world. He will have a great place in history as the statesman who pioneered in behalf of the federation of the free. He was chief sponsor of the Atlantic Union resolution, and he remained a prime and steadfast advocate of Atlantic unification. In our fights against the forces of reaction who would destroy the Tennessee Valley Authority, those of us who realize how much it has meant to our section of the country and to the Nation had no stancher ally or more resolute fighter than ESTES KEFAUVER.

When ESTES KEFAUVER departed the company of living men, the people of America—the average American, the common man—lost a devoted friend, a valiant fighter for their cause. The people of the world lost a statesman and a dedicated champion for world peace and understanding. In his spirit and example, the fight for the ideals that were his life will go on with renewed dedication.

He will be forever an influence,
A memory, a goal, a high example,
A thought of honor in some noble heart,
Part of his country's treasure and renown,
Oft given courage unto souls that strive.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I had the honor and privilege to serve for many years with ESTES KEFAUVER on the Committee on the Judiciary. It so happened that we were seated beside each other in the committee. During the many years I served with him, I always found him to be fighting for what he considered the rights of the common man in the United States. Also, in many instances, he was fighting against somebody, even in committee. But that did not stop ESTES KEFAUVER from trying to persuade the committee with respect to what he thought was for the best interests for the people of not only his State of Tennessee, but of the United States, as well.

So with sorrow in my heart, I join my colleagues today in eulogizing ESTES KEFAUVER, the late senior Senator from Tennessee, who left our midst on August 10. I had the good fortune to serve with him. I was among those who attended his funeral in Tennessee; and one would have to go to that funeral in order to know how the people of Tennessee appreciated him. They had tears in their eyes, because they knew they had lost one of their dearest and best friends when they lost ESTES KEFAUVER.

He was one of the most energetic Members of this body, and could be found working with deep interest on any number of legislative projects, regardless of whether they dealt with matters coming before the committee on which he served, or with bills before the Senate. He was the Senate's plodder who insisted on completing a job, regardless of whether it was one which brought headlines and fame or whether it was one of the menial tasks which sometimes bring on criticism and even bitter opposition.

It made no difference to ESTES KEFAUVER, so long as he thought he was fighting for what he believed was right and just.

Even with all the Senate work to which he attended, Senator KEFAUVER found time to write books and to make personal studies and inquiries, and he was one of the best informed Members of the Senate on the issues before it.

The people of the United States unquestionably will remember him for his conscientious and persistent work on the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation and his never-ending fight against crime and corruption.

One would have to be behind the closed doors of the Senate Judiciary Committee in order really and truly to appreciate the fight ESTES made to try to keep the monopolies from taking over the United States.

He was a friend of the underprivileged and the downtrodden, and did much to set our Nation on a course to overcome one of our major problems—that of juvenile delinquency. More than once he came within reach of the highest office in this land, the Presidency of the United States; but, hav-

ing failed to attain this office, he never once let disappointment steer him away from what he thought was his duty and what he loved to do—to serve the people of Tennessee and our Nation. His dedication to duty and his good sportsmanship throughout his political life should be an example to others who follow in his footsteps.

My heart and my sympathy go out to his wife, his children, and the other members of his immediate family. They have lost a good husband and a good father, and we have lost a friend and colleague who constantly fought for the rights of all the people of the United States.

Mr. President, all of us have lost a very dear and capable friend.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, it is a privilege to have this opportunity to pay a simple tribute to Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

His untimely death has deprived the Senate of one of its most able, fearless, and courageous Members; and I, personally, have lost a friend with whom I was in close personal association for more than 23 years. This association on many occasions brought me to the great Tennessee Valley, to his great city of Madisonville, to Chattanooga, and to the marvelous works of the TVA, that he had championed for so long.

I knew him in his home, with his wonderful wife, Nancy, and their fine children. I also had the privilege of knowing his father and mother and his faithful and loyal sisters. From time to time, over the years, Nancy and ESTES made me a part of their household. He was as close a friend as I have ever had. It was a totally loyal friendship, and he never faltered in that loyalty.

As an authentic liberal, ESTES KEFAUVER stood firm with those of all nations who champion the dignity of the individual and respect for human rights. This often meant that he championed causes which were not popular in his native State. Time after time the political "dopesters" predicted his defeat at the polls; but at each election he came back

stronger than before, which was a testimonal of the respect the people of his great State had for him.

The accomplishments of ESTES KEFAUVER for his country and mankind were legion. There is no need now to set them out. For ESTES KEFAUVER life always kept its zest and savor. In his living there was no unutilized energy. He gave himself wholeheartedly to the engrossing aims and obligations of political life; and no matter how he chanced to feel, in his view the major matters must be got on with.

To Nancy, the children, and sisters, my deepest sympathy.

Mr. President, my senior colleague [Mr. Magnuson] is out of the country on official business. Prior to his leaving he prepared a tribute to ESTES KEFAUVER. I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed at this point.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR MAGNUSON

Today the U.S. Senate pauses appropriately to pay tribute to a late and beloved colleague who, stricken in the midst of his arduous labor, has gone to a realm where there is no crime, no cruelty or greed, no wrongs or injustices such as he fought against throughout his earthly career.

I am referring, of course, to the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, he of the warm handshake and warmer heart, soft spoken and gentle in manner, but who also could be and was an implacable foe of every form of human exploitation.

ESTES KEFAUVER has been described as a man of many interests while his one great interest was people, all people, whatever their walks or conditions of life.

It was ESTES KEFAUVER's interest in people that, I believe, impelled him to seek legislation to protect them from racketeering and monopoly, to assist the consumer, to defend the weak and humble, to combat juvenile delinquency and the black market in unwanted babies, to strengthen international ties and to advance innovations which he felt would make for better government.

When he twice sought the nomination for President of the United States, it is my opinion that he did so not from personal ambition or self-esteem, but in the conviction that as Chief Executive he could achieve more swiftly those objectives which in his heart and mind he deemed would benefit the people of the Nation.

When Senator KEFAUVER was elected to the Senate in November 1948, he was assigned in January to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, now the Committee on Commerce. As we worked together on that committee during the 1st session of the

81st Congress, I came to admire his thoroughness, patience, and dedicated application to the problems before us. The friendship we established in those days has been enduring.

Legislation relating to communications, then as now under the committee's jurisdiction, had a special appeal to Senator KEFAUVER, and he served as chairman of two special communications subcommittees.

It was also while he was a member of the committee that he indicated great concern over the problem of organized crime. At the conclusion of the 1st session of the 81st Congress, the Senator transferred to the Judiciary Committee, and was named there with Senator Wiley, of Wisconsin, to serve on a Special Committee To Investigate Crime in America, to which Senators O'Conor of Maryland; Hunt, of Wyoming; and Tobey, of New Hampshire, of the Commerce Committee, were also appointed. As we know, Senator KEFAUVER was designated chairman of this committee, and the broad inquiry into rackets and racketeers in our major cities drew national attention.

As a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1952, Senator KEFAUVER entered 18 primaries, winning 15 of them, but Governor Stevenson, of Illinois, received the nomination at Chicago.

In 1956 Senator KEFAUVER again aspired to the Democratic nomination for President, again campaigning in his genial, methodical, people-to-people way, and with limited funds. Again he was not successful in being chosen the standard bearer for his party, but he did gain the personal satisfaction of winning thousands upon thousands of new friends, and to him this was indeed a rich measure of success.

Seeking a third term in the U.S. Senate in 1960, the voters of Tennessee chose him over his opponent by more than a 2-to-1 plurality.

Now he has left us, his work unfinished.

Three bills to which he attached special importance are pending in committees. A bit of ESTES KEFAUVER's spirit lives on in these bills. Whether they are enacted or not, they are fitting symbols of the things he lived and fought for, of his great warmth and humanity, and of his hatred of injustice.

One bill would establish a National Advisory Commission on Interstate Crime with the object of combating the problem that had deeply troubled him ever since he had noted, as a member of the Committee on Commerce 15 years ago, the disregard that racketeers and crime czars hold for State boundaries.

Another bill, which Senator KEFAUVER would have styled the Antiracketeering and Monopoly Boxing Act, would establish the Office of National Boxing Commissioner for the stated purpose of curbing "monopolistic control of professional boxing."

The third bill would establish an Office of Consumers to represent the economic interests of the consuming public before agencies of the Government and to conduct certain surveys and investigations in their behalf.

Senator KEFAUVER was a very busy Senator, but never did he flinch from duty on the numerous committees on which he served and never did he indicate a weariness of the flesh or spirit to his colleagues.

He was a member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, in itself a tortuous, grinding job with tremendous responsibility.

He was a member not only of the Senate Judiciary Committee, but of four subcommittees: Constitutional Amendments; Patent, Trademarks, and Copyrights; Juvenile Delinquency; and Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation, on the last of which he served as chairman.

I grieve for his passing. All of us here will miss him. All of us will treasure the associations we have had with him through the years. And all of us, I am sure, who have not already done so, will wish to express their sorrow and condolences to his gracious wife and their four children.

He was a husband and father, a statesman and a legislator, a politician, if you please—and most of all a man they will be ever proud of.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the shock of ESTES KEFAUVER's death has abated somewhat, but the grief at losing a friend remains.

ESTES KEFAUVER was my friend; he was a friend of thousands. On many occasions he was my adversary, but he was always my friend. In all my experience as a lawyer and legislator, I never had a more formidable opponent, yet when the battle was done, it was characteristic of Senator KEFAUVER to extend the sincere hand of friendship.

There were many facets to Senator KEFAUVER. One was the man, the Lincolnesque figure trudging up and down the Main Streets of Tennessee towns—and towns almost anywhere in the country—his oversized hand probably often aching with pain from too many grasps with his fellow citizens' hands.

Another facet was that of his being a nominee of his party for the Vice Presidency, pursuing the arduous task of cross-country campaigning.

I well remember the time when he made his appearance in the latter part of October 1956, on the occasion of the national corn picking contest in Columbus, Nebr. He had an arduous schedule. He was tired. His voice was raspy. He had contracted a low-grade infection of some kind and was running a fever. But notwithstanding all those handicaps and his condition, he insisted on going out to the field, where a stiff wind was blowing up the dust, and making his appearance, not out of considerations of vanity or considerations of an egotistical nature, but because he did not wish to disappoint the thousands who had gathered there to hear the man from Tennessee.

Another facet of Senator KEFAUVER was the series of televised crime hearings, his softly uttered probings producing a real-life underworld story that fascinated an audience of millions, and made them aware of a condition needing attention.

But I am convinced that the Senator was at his best as chairman of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, on which I served with him for 4 years. He was spectacularly single minded in his pursuit of evidence of wrongdoing. He challenged the giants of half a dozen major industries.

Within the select committee, Senator KEFAUVER and I often represented widely conflicting viewpoints and philosophies. We differed drastically on point after point, in hearing after hearing, not on the declared purposes or goals sought so much as on the means or methods by which they should be attained.

But throughout, he was always quiet, respectful, and self-controlled. He may at some time have lost his temper. I do not know. But I can truthfully say I never saw him lose his temper.

His soft drawl, his courtly demeanor, his composed features masked a bulldog tenacity which never ceased to surprise his colleagues and his many friends.

As with all men who hold strong views, Senator KEFAUVER suffered defeat and frustration on occasion. Lesser men would have compromised, shifted their positions, and found

a way to save face. But that was not the way for ESTES KEFAUVER.

It was not the way for Nancy Kefauver, whose tenacity and other admirable Scotch characteristics matched and supported the convictions of her husband so loyally, so suitably.

Mr. President, while the Senate is a poorer place without ESTES KEFAUVER being here, nevertheless we are the better for his long years of service which enhanced the Congress and its workings mightily.

Mrs. Hruska and I join the many, many friends in extending the tenderest sympathy to his loving and beloved wife, Nancy, and the rest of their fine family.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, in the death of ESTES KEFAUVER the Senate has lost one of its most useful Members and the country one of its most devoted servants.

ESTES KEFAUVER came to the Senate in 1949 after a distinguished career in the House of Representatives, and he was a Member of this body for nearly 15 years. During that time both we and the millions whom he served learned to know the full measure of the man. He was soft spoken, gentle and friendly in manner, and he had indeed an external simplicity of bearing which excited the derision of many supersophisticates. This simplicity was not put on but was the natural expression of an innate friendliness and a genuine liking for people combined with an utter absence of pretense or posturing. People responded to ESTES' handshake and to his friendly greetings because they knew that he was truly one of them and that he was their champion. So far as the people were concerned, he was probably the most popular Senator of us all.

Underneath this amiability was rock-like integrity, fighting courage, dogged persistence, a sharp and shrewd mind, and warm devotion to the interests of the people. Without large private means and amidst all the temptations of public life, he kept himself clean and unspotted. Nor was his hon-

esty merely a matter of dollars. He was intellectually upright. He would not twist evidence in his own behalf or argue demagogically.

He had the courage of a lion. He early took on the powerful boss of Tennessee, Ed Crump, of Memphis, and won by going directly to the people. He braved the anger and reprisals of the criminal underworld in his famous countrywide crime investigations. He dared to investigate and expose monopolistic control and practices in a wide variety of industries from steel to drugs and in so doing brought down on his head storms of criticism. He worked for the reform of congressional procedures although this did not make him popular with the power structures of the Senate and House. A lover of his native southland, he yet dared to take a national stand on sensitive issues which at least immediately went against the grain of perhaps the majority of citizens in his State.

He had dogged persistence. For years he tried to reform the drug laws of the country in order to protect the public both in matters of price and quality. Fought by the big commercial interests, sniped at and impeded by Government bureaucracy, he nevertheless triumphed as the thalidomide story unfolded and with the help of two heroic women, Drs. Barbara Moulton and Frances Kelsey, he forced a reluctant Congress and bureaucracy to protect the public. He fought to keep the channels of trade and communication open for both business and the consumers. He had a deep faith in ethical competition and waged a lifelong struggle to save that system both from monopoly and from unethical practices. He was a pioneer in stressing the need for the democratic nations to join together in some form of closer union.

And underneath his rustic manner was one of the sharpest minds in the Senate. Under his quiet but penetrating cross-examination he revealed the criminal underworld while he cut equally through the specious defenses of highly paid Wall Street lawyers and adroit lobbyists. He saw the forces which were degrading the promise of American life and had the wit to lay them bare. He was in fact an authentic intellectual,

although he took pains to obey Kipling's mandate of not looking too good or talking too wise.

But most of all ESTES KEFAUVER had a great heart for the welfare of people. He was their tribune and their champion without affectation or pretense. His great heart literally broke fighting their battles over who was to control Telstar communications and his death occurred in the midst of his last battle on this issue.

Finally, may I close on a personal note. He was my friend for nearly 20 years, ever since he and my wife served together in the House of Representatives.

I am proud that I supported him in 1952 in his campaign for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency and that I walked with him the last bitter mile as many of the powerful sought to heap humiliation upon him. His bearing under defeat turned reverses into spiritual victories.

We worked together in the Senate for most of the same causes and his loss is a heavy one. He stood up tall and straight in this body, and he will long be remembered. A true tribune of the people has entered the Valhalla of the valiant. May his successful example inspire others to be more like him.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, the one word—irreparable—has been on the lips not only of many of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER's colleagues but of countless Americans in characterizing his loss. Perhaps, as is often said, there are no indispensable men. However, the passing of ESTES KEFAUVER causes me—and I doubt not many others—to challenge that facile assumption. I believe that his loss is irreparable—irreparable to the Senate, to the whole Congress, to his State of Tennessee, which he loved so well, but more important to the entire Nation—and, perhaps, beyond our natural boundaries when one considers the image of democracy at its finest that he projected to the entire world. Is not his the image, the American image, that we as Americans would like to have projected to all mankind? I so feel.

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

The American people, in any event, were truly bereaved when that great soul that was ESTES KEFAUVER departed this life.

His was a battle casualty. He was fatally wounded in action. It was on the floor of the Senate late one afternoon, toward the close of a grueling day, while engaged in one of his monumental battles—and leading that battle—that he was stricken. He was fighting, along with a small group of his colleagues, against a monopoly, an unregulated monopoly, "organized for private profit," as the bill creating it clearly spelled out; a monopoly in a vast new and unexplored cosmic field—in a field infinite, with unknown and untapped possibilities—space. He had carried on that battle with 15 of his colleagues a year previously in the 87th Congress. He lost that battle, but it was renewed when the effort to authorize the appropriation of $45 million to subsidize that corporation "organized for private profit" again raised the issue forcibly whether it was really a private corporation, and if so, whether it should be. The issue on that fatal day was the justification, or lack of justification, for an appropriation for a corporation—presented to the Congress as pure private enterprise—which at the first possible opportunity appeared to be reaching, and reaching deeply, into the Federal Treasury. It was in the midst of this struggle that ESTES KEFAUVER felt ill. Later in the evening, he went to the hospital, where 30 hours later, his great heart gave way.

As always, that fight, like ESTES KEFAUVER's many others, was a fight for the public interest. Indeed, the public interest never had a stancher, more determined, more indefatigable champion in public life than ESTES KEFAUVER. His eminent public career in the House of Representatives for 8 years and in the Senate for 15 years, was illuminated by his unfailing espousal of causes and of legislation that sought to make life better, fuller, and more meaningful for the great mass of the American people. He was instinctively a champion of the underdog, of the underprivileged, of the so-called little people, whose welfare, whose frustrations, and whose hopes were ever his concern. And the people whose causes he

espoused recognized him as their defender. No Member of the Congress was more widely known and more widely beloved. He was the people's Senator, and he was a national figure.

As a defender of the consumer, ESTES KEFAUVER inevitably found himself arrayed against the powerful vested interests which by and large dominate many aspects of American life. He found himself arrayed against entrenched political bossism when he took on and ultimately vanquished the powerful Crump machine in his home State of Tennessee. He found himself in conflict with big industry, with big steel, and other great corporations, with their administered prices. He was concerned with the effect of those prices whether it be steel or electrical equipment or bread or any of the essentials of modern life on the cost of living of the American family. And so he fought them.

He waged a heroic battle against abuses in the drug industry. His concern was not merely for the health of the American people, so deeply implicated in the medicines they need, but for their pocketbooks. He knew of the high cost of medication and worked hard to do something about it. He won battles—notably in the 87th Congress, when the unexpected revelations about thalidomide and its macabre effects on the unborn caused one of those miraculous breaks in the entrenched opposition to his efforts and gave him the signal victory for the legislation he had sought. He realized that although he had won that battle, the war still remained to be won. Now it has lost its mightiest warrior and its leader.

He waged a war against crime and racketeering. He showed up its connection with some of the big city political machines and their resulting corruption and earned for himself the antagonism of some of those high in political life. It did not faze him in the least. He was unswervable from what he deemed the path of rectitude.

A southerner, he refused to sign the southern manifesto calling for massive resistance to desegregation, thus performing one of his numerous acts of courage and further evidenc-

ing the depth of his democratic feeling. He was wholly free from prejudice on the basis of race, color, or creed.

We Alaskans will always be grateful to him for his early and vigorous support of Alaska's statehood as he likewise gave his voice and vote to Hawaii's. His deep faith in the basic American principle of government by consent of the governed made that support natural and consistent with ESTES' political philosophy.

Perhaps the outstanding example of ESTES KEFAUVER's courage took place during the height of the era of McCarthyism. Then, the denunciation of anyone as soft on communism was presumed to be a politically lethal blow. Demonstrating their freedom from such an imputation, and undoubtedly also because they deemed the Communist conspiracy a real menace to our freedom and our democratic institutions, Representatives and Senators sponsored legislation to outlaw the Communist Party. There was a bandwagon rush to support it. In the debate preceding the vote ESTES KEFAUVER, who had taken an extensive part in the discussion, said:

> Many of us are concerned about the precedent of outlawing a particular group. Perhaps next year Congress will not like some other group. Perhaps 10 years from now Congress may not like another group. In the history of this Nation, is this not a new approach to the problem? Have we ever outlawed any group before in the history of the United States? In the history of our Nation, has any group ever been outlawed or condemned as illegal by legislative enactment?

Apparently, he did not get what, to him, were satisfactory answers to his questions. He continued his questioning to determine whether, under the provisions of the pending legislation, there was a right of appeal or judicial determination if and when enactment had taken place in the Senate.

Although ESTES KEFAUVER was no less aware than his colleagues of the existence of the Communist conspiracy and its sinister purposes, it was evident that he had, nevertheless, serious doubts about the wisdom of this legislation as a means of combating the Communist menace at home. Fearing that he would vote against the legislation, his staff and others pleaded with him to go along with what was bound to be an

overwhelming majority. They warned him that to do otherwise would be political suicide. But ESTES KEFAUVER refused to be stampeded by the current hysteria, nor did he think that our American institutions were so fragile that they could be impaired by the few Communists in our midst.

When the roll was called, the bill was passed by a vote of 81 to 1—the 1 was ESTES KEFAUVER.

But, however determined, persistent, and tenacious his battling, ESTES KEFAUVER was never bitter, even after some disappointing setbacks, never vindictive, and as far as I can remember, never angry, or at least if he was, he did not show it by any display of temper. The even tone and low key of his unemotional delivery—for he was not a fiery orator—reflected the calmness and serenity of his temperament. He could be indignant at what he considered injustice and evil, but his indignation was not directed at his fellow men as individuals.

For, above everything else, he was a kind person, a gentle person, a modest person, and, however deeply he felt involved in the causes for which he fought, he fought them without rancor, without malice, without self-glorification, and with full appreciation of the other fellow's point of view.

His greatness lay in his steadfast devotion to the principles and to the causes for which he fought, and in the courage which made him oblivious to the odds against him and to any political consequences that might follow. That, despite some hard-fought electoral contests, these contests turned out to be without adverse political consequences, is a tribute to the people of his State of Tennessee who, even if they did not always agree with him, recognized the integrity, sincerity, and honesty which ESTES KEFAUVER so conspicuously incarnated.

His place will not be filled, and his departure leaves a tragic void in our public life. The tragedy lies in the fact that at age 60 he could have been expected to give for another score of years the kind of dedicated public service that often almost singlehanded he had been rendering.

We shall all miss him sorely, and our sympathy goes out not only to the American people who are so much poorer for his passing, but first and foremost to his lovely wife and beautiful children, to whom he was so devoted.

It is pertinent that ESTES KEFAUVER died poor, but to his family he left a priceless legacy and to America a shining example.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, when ESTES KEFAUVER passed away, the average man in America lost a true, trusted, and genuine friend. Millions of his fellow Americans had the highest admiration and respect for ESTES KEFAUVER; and those of us who served with him in the House of Representatives, and later in the Senate, know that this feeling of comradeship was fully and justly deserved.

ESTES KEFAUVER talked a language that everyone understood. Time and again he demonstrated a remarkable ability to translate the great and complicated problems and challenges of his time into the simplest phrases. In a quiet and uncomplicated way he invariably came to grips with complex issues, and striking at the very heart of the problems in question, without losing sight of genuine human value.

Throughout his career of public service, ESTES KEFAUVER demonstrated the courageous independence that is the hallmark of leadership. His genius enabled him to look beyond the marbled halls and lobbies of Capitol Hill to ascertain the effect of any given legislative proposal upon his fellow Americans, who seldom come here or get in touch directly with us to express their fears and, more important, their hopes.

His unwavering devotion to individual rights often confounded the pressure groups. ESTES KEFAUVER held fast to the philosophy of freedom and rugged individualism that, in an earlier time, guided the statesmanship of another Tennessean, Andrew Jackson. When the coonskin cap became his political symbol, millions of his fellow Americans grasped the idea. They loved this tall and scholarly Tennessean. They liked the way he looked you straight in the eye, and the way he spoke not only from the head but from the heart.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a genuine liberal and a progressive, in that he sought new solutions and was willing to consider the validity of new answers to old questions. He was a tireless crusader. Perhaps no man in all history shook hands with as many people throughout the Nation as did ESTES KEFAUVER in two presidential campaigns.

He loved people, and they responded to him. I had seen him arrive at 2 o'clock, after a day that had begun some 16 or 18 hours earlier, and spend time with people, not because he was campaigning, but because the people had waited for him until 2 o'clock in the morning and he felt they should not go away disappointed.

I had seen him fulfill a grueling and grinding campaign schedule that ended at 2 in the morning and was resumed at 6 o'clock in the morning, through duststorms in my home State; and I had seen him travel through the parched earth area of Oklahoma that year because he loved the people and felt that the people were entitled to have the benefit of his ideas about government.

He was unselfish. Although he had lost the fight he had made for the nomination for the Presidency, he worked unselfishly and tirelessly for the successful candidate at the Democratic Convention, and worked as hard for him, or even harder than he worked for himself.

As chairman of the Antitrust Subcommittee in the Senate, as an active member of the Select Committee on Small Business, as chairman of the Anticrime Committee, his uncompromising courage and diligence in fighting wrongdoing and vice, yielded great benefits to all.

The issues which he sponsored—not passively, but aggressively—were myriad.

ESTES KEFAUVER never asked, "Is the issue popular?" Instead, he asked, "Is it right?" and acted on that basis. He never asked the question, "Can it pass?" but, "Should it pass?" and gave his full attention to the effort to have it passed.

He stood for world peace and for the establishment of the United Nations before it was actually proposed. He was a stalwart supporter of NATO, the Marshall plan, food for

peace, and foreign aid, and was active in that field of affairs when often such stands were unpopular, but were necessary to bring the United States into a position of leadership as the only Nation to which others could look. He favored the TVA, REA, social security, medical care, antitrust legislation, civil rights, inflation control, and other important measures on the floor of the Senate and in the House of Representatives at an early date. In the matter of a philosophical approach to governmental issues, he was a scholar. He was constantly thinking about and studying proposals for congressional reforms. In the reorganization of Congress, he was one of the strongest supporters, and he advocated many new and vital suggestions to help modernize our system.

ESTES KEFAUVER knew how to fight a good fight. His sense of fairness, and his gentlemanly approach to debate and parliamentary procedures, endeared him to all who worked alongside him in Congress.

His vision, his integrity, his talent, and his devotion often caused him to place service ahead of self; and thus it was that this desire to work, to do, to achieve, and to fight for others, and the schedule that he set for himself brought to him the untimely toll of death.

To his gracious wife and their fine children, Mrs. Monroney and I extend our deepest and heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, the departure from our ranks of our colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, was a shock to us all.

My first thought on hearing of his death was that the people of this country had lost one of the greatest champions they could have in public life.

By "the people" I mean those ordinary folk who have no expensive lobbies and no vested interest in anything but good government.

It was a dedication to the rights of his fellow men and their protection against exploitation that characterized ESTES KEFAUVER's public career.

Few men have enjoyed the recognition and respect that greeted him from one end of our country to the other.

He was welcomed so often in Michigan, for example, that we felt he almost was one of our native sons.

In the Senate, ESTES KEFAUVER made an outstanding record in many legislative battles, but always he was on the side of his friends, the people.

Speaking as one who feels honored to have known and worked with Senator KEFAUVER for nearly 10 years, I can say only that he will be sorely missed.

I join with my many colleagues in expressing deep sympathy to Nancy, his lovely wife, the children, and all of his relations in their sorrow.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, each of us in this body feels genuine loss in the passing of our colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

As the falling of a mighty tree leaves a void against the sky, so the passing of this tall Tennessean creates a vacuum which can be neither quickly filled nor easily forgotten. We shall miss his forthright counsel and his independent strength as we seek to carry forward the legislative burdens of the Nation.

It was my privilege to know ESTES KEFAUVER as a friend and coworker since the 76th Congress, when he came to the House of Representatives. We served together in the Senate in a spirit of cooperation which was engendered by mutual interests. He was, as I sensed it, a public servant of energy, devotion, and conscience.

Throughout his career as a lawyer and Member of Congress and vice presidential candidate, ESTES KEFAUVER never lost touch with the individual citizen—the man in the street—whose trust and respect he won in countless battles. In the courts of law, in congressional hearing rooms, and in debate, he was ever the steadfast friend and champion of the people, as he knew them.

He was a tall man physically. But he was one who was quick to stoop to aid those who needed assistance.

ESTES KEFAUVER will be missed by his colleagues in the Senate, and by the constituency he served in Tennessee, and throughout the Nation, whom he served.

Mrs. Randolph joins me in extending most sincere sympathy to Nancy and the children. We shall remember him. We shall remember him.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, he came from Madisonville in Monroe County in his beloved Tennessee; his life was worthy of the best deeds of the two exemplars for whom his town and his county were named.

And when they carried ESTES KEFAUVER back for burial on the family farm in Monroe County in the rugged hills of east Tennessee last August 13, from a life untimely ended in the full prime of his effectiveness, a grateful people gathered from all parts of the Union to pay him homage. Their car license plates read from Maine to California; many doubtless lacked the means for plane tickets, but they came in the uncounted thousands, driving their own cars across a continent, to pay their last respects to the body of the leader who had come to be in America, the candidate and champion of the common man. He was that and more; he was the unfailing champion, advocate, and defender of the common man in the Halls of the Congress of the United States. I was there in Tennessee last August 13, Mr. President; I saw the people. I was here in the Senate with ESTES KEFAUVER, Mr. President; my office was just around the corner from his on the fourth floor of the Old Senate Office Building. I give a testimony today, based on my personal knowledge of their man. Providence has privileged me to have been a living witness to a part of the life of one of our Senate greats, a man whose life casts a beneficial glow on the whole work of the Senate. He came from the mountains, he reflected their strength in his own life.

ESTES KEFAUVER first came to widespread public notice in my home State by fighting for the Tennessee Valley Authority, as a Congressman. Next, he gave the hearts of our people a lift by beating the Crump machine in the Tennessee Senate race of 1948, and coming to the U.S. Senate. His crime committee investigation of big crime in America brought him national fame, enhanced by the judicious, dignified, and fair manner in which he conducted the hearings. My first opportunity to see and hear ESTES KEFAUVER came in September 1951 at the national convention of the American Bar Association in New York City. He spoke for a public defender in the courts for those defendants unable to employ an attorney. An investigator of crime and criminals, he demanded the protection of the law for those accused of lawlessness.

In his drive for the Presidency in 1952, he was an extremely popular figure in my home State of Texas, and in the campaign of 1956, when he was his party's nominee for the Vice Presidency, I had the privilege of traveling with him in a caravan from Dallas to Waco, of seeing throngs of people cheered by his friendly, modest, unostentatious greetings. Instinctively, the people trusted him.

He was a generous man, in all facets of his life. His aids were permitted to help other Senators with research. I was the beneficiary of such aid by his staff. ESTES KEFAUVER was extravagant with his time in pursuit of justice for the people. He was generous with his time, for anyone seeking counsel or assistance.

When I came to the Senate in 1957, he and his charming wife, Nancy, were the first people in Washington to invite my wife, Opal, and me into their home. He was hospitable, in the best traditions of his native Tennessee.

He was a friendly man, friendly to everybody, but he was more than that to me. He was my personal friend. I counted him my closest friend in the Senate. Our hearts are full of sympathy for his beautiful and fine family. I felt a debt to his ideals, as those other great Tennesseans, Andrew Jackson, and Andrew Johnson, and Sam Houston had in-

spired other Texans in other generations. ESTES KEFAUVER is in the mold of a Sam Houston or an Andrew Johnson or an Andrew Jackson or a James K. Polk; he is worthy to be ranked with them.

ESTES KEFAUVER was cast in the mold of a Jackson or a Houston. Independent, fearless, fighting against great odds, taking on the political kingmakers of the Nation singlehanded, plunging into a just cause without pausing to count the cost, never slowing down for his own personal aches or pains, standing on his feet to protect the people, even with the fingers of death closing upon him; he was a champion to cheer for, a friend and leader to mourn. There is an emptiness in the Senate Chamber now that may not be filled in our lifetime.

Personally, I counted ESTES KEFAUVER among the five most vital and valuable persons serving the Government of the United States, counting all branches of government.

I have given this subject considerable thought since ESTES KEFAUVER left this body in August. It is my considered judgment that there are not three persons working in the Government of the United States today who are more valuable to the people of the United States than was ESTES KEFAUVER.

In the investigation of the conspiracy of the manufacturers of electrical equipment, ESTES KEFAUVER uncovered enough evidence of conspiracy to cause the manufacturers to plead guilty. My home city of Austin, Tex., owns its own electrical plant. On one piece of equipment costing millions of dollars the electrical manufacturers had all entered identical bids. After the Kefauver exposure, the manufacturer, this year, reduced the bid on one piece of equipment alone by $600,000, saving that amount for the taxpaying and electricity-using citizens of Austin, Tex., my home city, on only one piece of equipment.

Consider how much he meant to the whole country.

His work covered many fields of our economic life. By his courageous stand against powerful forces in both parties in the drug investigation he prevented the sale of thalidomide

as a pain-relieving drug to pregnant mothers, and thus saved families the tears and agonies of limbless babies.

He led the fight last year against the monopolistic give-away of our uses of outer space for communications purposes. He virtually died on his feet fighting against a furtherance of that giveaway.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a gallant champion. His life had added one of the brightest chapters in the whole history of the Senate, in all of its generations. May his family take solace and comfort from the great useful inspiring life he lived.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, like most successful men in public life, ESTES KEFAUVER had a public image. But unlike many nationally prominent individuals, his image was the man himself. He was no different in or out of the spotlight. It is one of the prime reasons why people throughout the breadth of our great land loved him so well. They could sense that he spoke and acted always from the heart; that he was not schooled on Madison Avenue. Nor was he glazed with a veneer of cordiality that concealed cynicism and contempt from those from whom he sought support. He was real; he was genuine. It is possible for some of us to speak with firsthand knowledge on that particular phase of this great man.

In my own State of Wyoming, his influence was considerable. The reservoir of followers that filled to overflowing throughout the years during the many trips he made to my State stands as a living monument to the kind of direct inspiration he instilled in people.

One incident among many that we still talk about in Wyoming occurred in the campaign of 1956, when he was visiting a small community in southwest Wyoming—a big community in our terms, but small when considered from here—Rock Springs, in Sweetwater County. Senator KEFAUVER was to make a brief appearance, to include a speech and a public reception.

When his plane landed at the local airport, there were no portable stairs. Most of the airports in that area are not equipped to handle some of the larger planes that fly across that part of the country. For a while, it looked as though the people would have to content themselves with a speech made from the door of the aircraft at the airport. But ESTES, as the people were all calling him, even then, ordered the crew to uncrate the portable ladder which most of these craft carry. It was a chute; and in a grand swoop, he slid down out of the plane through the chute and into the crowd.

This was no idle gesture on his part, and was never interpreted in that way. It illustrated very well the innate dignity of ESTES KEFAUVER which lay in his sincerity and in the conviction that the average man was his concern. The people out my way have never forgotten that little incident.

Only 2 or 3 weeks before his passing, ESTES honored me by appearing in Cheyenne, the capital city of my State, at a testimonial dinner. His appearance at that dinner drew from the city of Rock Springs a delegation of 35 persons, who drove a distance of 275 miles, not to testimonialize McGee, but to pay tribute to the presence there of ESTES KEFAUVER, who, although he was a Senator from Tennessee, was indeed a man of all Americans. They felt that a part of ESTES belonged to them. They were thrilled, once again, because he paid special attention to them; he had taken time from the busy round of events in Cheyenne to visit with them and to reminisce over some of the incidents of the past.

But even as I suggest that the people of Wyoming, individually, venerated ESTES KEFAUVER, still another incident bears recounting. One of the pleasantest visits, a visit that I shall never forget, was a short trip he and I took, along with some of our colleagues—I see in the Chamber the distinguished junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Young], who was in the party—to Yellowstone Park, last July. Yellowstone Park is more than Wyoming; it is "Crossroads, U.S.A."

What would have impressed any casual visitor at that moment, as we were standing in the vast lobby of the Lake Hotel, in the center of the park, was how all of America

seemed to recognize at once the presence of ESTES. They said: "Hi, ESTES. Hello, ESTES. I last saw you, ESTES, in Minnesota"—or "Alabama"—or "New Hampshire." People all across the land crossed his trail in Yellowstone Park. ESTES KEFAUVER loved the people, and that affection was reciprocated.

There was more to this great and beloved public servant than even his true humility, his candor, his love of people, and their love, in turn, of him. In continually pressing for the achievement of the causes in which he believed, he inspired not only the plain people of America, but also the leaders at all levels and in connection with all causes, to follow his example.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a true liberal. He was convinced that the individual's lot in life could be improved and ought to be improved, and he dedicated his every effort to achieving that improvement.

His effective work in this body in the fight against organized crime, against unfair monopoly, and against those who would compromise the standards of service to the public is an indication of his real concern for the welfare of his fellow men.

ESTES KEFAUVER was not only a man of strong principles, he also worked to put those principles into action. And work, to ESTES KEFAUVER, was just that—work, hard work, and plenty of it. Just as his style of political campaigning meant meeting more people and shaking more hands, so his style of legislative work meant keeping longer hours and holding more hearings than most of his contemporaries. He was never known to shrink from a task or to give up before the job was complete. And neither would he shrink from a position he believed correct, just because it might be unpopular or might expose him to the mudslinging attacks of those who would pander to the mean and petty side of human nature, for political ends.

It is easy to talk about ESTES KEFAUVER. He was a big man and his memory and the memory of many associations with him brings a warm glow to the spirit. But it is certainly far more difficult to realize that he is no longer with

us. His loss has already been keenly felt in this body and in our country. But even though he has passed on, his principles, his example, and his courage live on and still are very much with us. They become the guidelines and the inspiration to many of the rest of us. Those inspirations do not die.

We miss ESTES. The people of his State miss him. The Nation misses him. All of them need the kind of leadership and courage he exemplified.

Mrs. McGee would join me in expressing our sympathy to his lovely wife, Nancy, and their family. As Americans, we shall ever be proud of this great man, this great American.

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER and I served together in the House of Representatives. We became good friends then, and over the years I held him in the highest esteem. His sudden death last August shocked the entire Nation. We are still saddened by his loss, and indeed, will be for many years to come.

Mr. President, when I say the entire Nation was shocked by his passing, I recall distinctly two occasions—one, in the Virgin Islands; another, on the campaign trail—when literally scores and scores of men, women, boys, and girls crowded around ESTES KEFAUVER, seeking his autograph, which he patiently gave; and from time to time he would say to someone, "This is Senator Young, and he will give you his autograph." However, Mr. President, they were not seeking any autograph except that of this truly great man, ESTES KEFAUVER.

He was in every way a man of courage, of conviction, of tenacity, of great ability, and of dedication, known to and beloved by Americans—by the ordinary, average "little fellows," as we say—by the rank and file of the citizens of our country, in whose behalf he ceaselessly toiled.

He was always a dedicated public servant; he was always a champion of the "have-not's." A fine, big man, himself, he was always strenuously fighting for the rights of men and

women whom he considered were being pushed around by those who were more powerful. He was a tireless foe of organized crime, of monopoly, and of special interests.

He was, in a very real respect, always a champion of the underdog, a guardian of the public interest. As such, he endeared himself to countless numbers of Americans in all walks of life. While he usually appeared unhurried and relaxed, he was at all times a man of great industry.

I am proud and honored to have served for many years with this "man in the coonskin cap." For more than 25 years, he served his native State of Tennessee and his Nation. He served with distinction as an official of his State, as a Member of the House of Representatives of the United States, and as a Member of the Senate of the United States. During those years, ESTES KEFAUVER knew defeat, as well as victory; setbacks, as well as accomplishments. Yet, he never wavered in his determination that all Americans receive "a fair shake."

I recall very well that in 1952 he made a tremendous impression in Ohio when, almost alone, he campaigned for support as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. I was then in private life—having been retired by the will of the voters of my State in 1950. As a private citizen, I gladly gave him my enthusiastic support and help. At that time I knew of other powerful supporters and very close friends that he made in Ohio. One I have distinctly in mind was Edward "Ted" Lamb, of Toledo, who admired ESTES KEFAUVER so very much because, like ESTES, Ted Lamb has always been a champion of the underprivileged. Over the years Ted Lamb would speak almost reverently of his affection and admiration for ESTES KEFAUVER.

Let me say that this young lawyer, Edward "Ted" Lamb, in recent years has become chairman of the board of the Seiberling Tire & Rubber Co., of Akron, and is the head of the Edward Lamb Industries, of Toledo. He is a nationally known industrialist, an internationally famed sportsman, and a self-made millionaire a good many times over. Back in 1952 he was a lawyer, as was I, in Ohio; and he inspired me

to do my utmost for ESTES KEFAUVER. Of course, the kingmakers of that time were too powerful. ESTES KEFAUVER—as was the situation on frequent occasions during his long life of truly dedicated public service—was fighting against well-nigh insurmountable odds. However, he was always cheerful and forthright; he never looked behind, to see whether he had a following host. He was always looking ahead, for the welfare of the people of the United States. He would have made a great President of the United States.

He was as towering a figure in ability and integrity, as he was in stature. His leadership, his counsel, his undaunted courage, and his presence among those of us who serve as Members of the Senate were highly valued. He has been, and will be, greatly missed in this Chamber.

To his lovely wife, Nancy, their children, and the other members of their family, we extend our deepest sympathy. There is no real consolation one can offer on the death of a beloved husband and father. However, there has been bequeathed to them a priceless gift—a name that always will stand for courage, dedication, unsurpassed integrity, and fighting for democracy—ESTES KEFAUVER.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, this will not be a long speech. There is no need for one from me. The grief occasioned by Senator KEFAUVER's death has been crystallized into words by men more articulate than I.

President Kennedy has said that the Nation is deprived of one of its finest leaders.

The distinguished minority leader has described Mr. KEFAUVER as "a man with deep convictions, a rare persistence and a tremendous courage."

David McDonald of the United Steelworkers called him "a true friend of labor and all mankind."

Ambassador Stevenson, said, "The people have lost a gallant champion, and I have lost an old friend and a comrade in arms."

Those last words—when I read them—were among the ones that touched me most deeply because they so exactly reflected my own feelings.

There was a long list of true and touching comment. It was all eloquent, it was all sincere, and it all came from men important in the affairs of the Nation.

And yet I know that many here will agree with me that important men are not best qualified to eulogize this Senator. He was courtly and considerate to all, but he was never eager to seek the favor of important people.

It would seem to me far more useful to seek out judgments on the man from farmers and housewives and lathe operators and shipping clerks.

I know of one such simple testimonial. A telephone repairman in Michigan said it and it was simply—"What a shame. He was such a good man."

An eloquent comment, I think, from a man unpracticed in phrasemaking. It is not an exaggeration to say that the people thought of ESTES KEFAUVER as a protector.

Common people everywhere—and perhaps not without some justification—have the feeling that there are great and powerful forces alined against their best interests.

But having a man like ESTES KEFAUVER around did a lot to relieve their feeling of helplessness. Because he was a crusador—against crime, against monopolies, against bigotry—and when he crusaded, he crusaded because he was angry.

But we can write this down about him: His outrage never diminished his sense of fairness. And this perhaps more than any other characteristic was the source of his greatness.

Senator KEFAUVER and I very rarely found ourselves opposed on any issues. But whenever such an occasion did occur, whenever I found that his position differed from mine, I reexamined my reasoning very carefully before finally casting an opposing vote. But, as I say, it did not happen often.

Certainly, I am proud to recall that I worked with him very closely on the drug bill during those bleak days in the

last session when support for this legislation was something short of overwhelming. But he stood firm and finally the thalidomide episode dramatized the righteousness of the cause.

Senator KEFAUVER instrumented a great tradition in this body, and there are many of us who hope fervently that it can be somehow continued.

Certainly the battles he fought deserve to go on with the same vigorous, decisive spirit. This, in truth, would be the greatest tribute we could give the man.

His was a greatness we shall not see often. Any man can be envied by his friends. But only when a man is truly great will you find many who will—as I do—envy him his enemies as well.

I promised a short speech. This one has been perhaps too long already. Because when we get down to it, what more is there to say than: "What a shame. He was such a good man."

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I should like to join my distinguished colleagues in the Senate in honoring the memory of my friend—a great American—the gentleman from Tennessee, ESTES KEFAUVER, whose sudden passing in August shocked and saddened us all.

I had known ESTES KEFAUVER just the few short years since I came to the Senate in 1959. We served together on the Judiciary Committee. But I soon discovered one did not need to know ESTES KEFAUVER long to learn and appreciate his outstanding traits.

His rugged and sturdy visage was matched by his rugged and sturdy individualism.

He was impelled by a crusading spirit to fight for his beliefs, his credo, his program.

He never dodged controversy. He seemed to thrive on it. He was tenacious, moving with a dogged persistence, which was at once the admiration and inspiration of his supporters and the despair of his opponents. He was indeed a worthy adversary.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a hard worker. He never shirked his duty as he saw it, and many times during a session of Congress he was in the forefront fighting for a cause dear to his heart.

ESTES KEFAUVER was able to strike a kinship with the man in the street. He championed the underdog, the oppressed, those in the minority. This in no small part explains his wide support among the people of Tennessee, who elected him and reelected him to Congress beginning in 1939. It explains in no small part why he won the vice presidential nomination of his party in 1956.

Yet, despite his great party loyalty, he retained his right to be independent when he differed with his party. For this, he won wide acclaim.

It is a pity such a man was stricken in the very prime of his life.

So we say our last "aloha" to him, a dedicated American and fine public servant.

My wife, Ellyn, and I appreciate the great sense of loss his family must feel, and we extend to Mrs. Kefauver and their children our heartfelt condolences in their bereavement.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, over our years of service together in the Senate, I came to know ESTES KEFAUVER as a friend. I respected his deep faith in the people and his political courage to speak out against wrong no matter where it occurred, no matter in which administration it occurred. In his devotion to duty and in his unceasing exertions as a legislator, he kept the public trust which the people of his own State successively and continuously recognized when they sent him first to the House of Representatives and then to the Senate. Later, across this great land, ESTES KEFAUVER, in various campaigns for national office, utilized a unique symbol of the Tennessee frontier—the coonskin cap—which so fittingly linked ESTES with the hopes, aspirations, courage, and progressivism of people in all walks of life.

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

Lawyer, public servant, scholar—honored to be elected vice president of the American Political Science Association—and friend of countless students, ESTES KEFAUVER, in his first years in Washington, coauthored a readable and noteworthy book entitled a "Twentieth Century Congress."

In the midst of the Second World War, he fought as a Member of the House for a resolution to permit Cabinet officers to come before the full body on a regular basis and submit to questioning on the activities of their departments. At an early date, he demonstrated that not only should Congress be responsive to the people but that the Executive should also be responsive, or at any rate, respond to Congress. He never lived to see adopted this or many of the other reforms he proposed in his desire to make Congress responsive to the needs of the people; perhaps most of us will never live to see that day. But if that day should ever come, it will be due to the diligence and the faith of men like ESTES KEFAUVER.

I was honored repeatedly over the years to coauthor with him and others in both parties a constitutional amendment to revise the long-archaic electoral college system so that it might reflect the will of the people on a proportional basis. Someday, Mr. President, that too shall come to pass, and much credit will be due to the long hours and untiring efforts of the late Senator from Tennessee. Through years of public hearings he aroused the informed opinion of our Nation, those in the universities, those in journalism, those in public life—to the need for this change so that no longer would the will of our citizens be frustrated by the election of a President who had not received the support of a majority of the people: an event which has occurred more than once in the history of our Republic. He once described the outmoded electoral college as a loaded pistol pointed at our system of government.

Its continued existence—

He said—

is a game of Russian roulette. Once its antiquated procedures trigger a loaded cylinder, it may be too late for the needed corrections.

ESTES KEFAUVER was colorful, he was a scholar, he was a fighter, but above all else he remained a kindly man. To his

beloved wife, Nancy, and his family, Mrs. Kuchel and I extend our deepest condolences.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, often a thing that seems trifling at the time looms large in retrospect. I am thinking of this Senate Chamber on Thursday, August 8, as I came back here from the Moscow treaty-signing mission.

In his last hour on this Senate floor—even as the shadow of tragedy was gathering around him—Senator ESTES KEFAUVER interrupted the major speech he was making—to welcome me back and to hope that I was feeling as well as I looked.

I am proud that the Record perpetuates his compliment and our friendly responses of that day. For the incident was in the character of ESTES KEFAUVER who always found time to be considerate, courteous, and kind however the tide of debate might surge upon the Senate floor.

A devoted, dedicated, untiring advocate of causes in which he believed, the tall son of Tennessee will be missed from the American scene. Few Americans were known so universally, so personally, so intimately. For ESTES KEFAUVER seems to have been at the front door of all America so that the people might know him at firsthand.

Honored so constantly by the people of his native State, there were few so honored by the people at large in an era when the country's best competed for the country's favor.

In whatever post fate held for him, the people were sure of a conscientious servant, and we who served with him admired him for his conscience and loved him for his companionship.

Silent thousands gathered by the old family home around his flag-covered casket for the last rites. Their very presence spoke an eloquent eulogy for our colleague who was everybody's neighbor.

Out of the sincerity of our hearts we speak our sympathy for his dear ones and our deepest sorrow for a great American who has earned his rightful rest in the very bosom of the Tennessee he loved and served so well.

May he rest in peace.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, the sudden and untimely death of Senator KEFAUVER was a loss to not only the State of Tennessee but also to the Nation.

My first association with ESTES was as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives where he served five sessions. He preceded me to the U.S. Senate, but here we had the opportunity to renew our association, and I again had the pleasure of serving with him.

Senator KEFAUVER had great courage in supporting many programs that might not have been immediately popular but were in the best interest of our Nation's future. He was a man of visions with a great heart of compassion for the underprivileged, whether in this Nation or in other countries on the globe.

He was the first candidate for the U.S. Senate to endorse the program of the Atlantic Union. In Senator KEFAUVER, the Atlantic Unionists agree they had their strongest and most active leader. He and I had many discussions in regard to the program of this international organization in its effort to promote world peace.

Clarence Streit, president of the International Movement for Atlantic Union, of whose honorary council Senator KEFAUVER was a member, says of him:

Since 1948 I have been on close terms with Senator KEFAUVER. I must testify that he has never wavered on this issue and has proved time and again that he put the interests of the Atlantic Union Convention proposals above what others thought were his own political or personal interests. He stood his ground when attacked because of it, in both his campaigns for the presidential nomination, and in all his campaigns for his Senate seat.

I have been in an unusually good position during the past 15 years to form a good judgment about Senator KEFAUVER. He impressed me favorably from the start, and he has grown and grown and grown in my esteem, particularly in qualities which I rate high. These include moral courage, integrity, stick-to-it-iveness, good political judgment, sangfroid, far-reaching vision combined with a down-to-earth sense of the practical and a genuine, warmhearted interest and respect for people, individually and collectively. Practically all the articles about him that I have seen in the mass magazines and bit newspapers have shown only superficial knowledge and perception, and have badly underestimated him. His stature, I have no doubt whatever, will grow with time.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, the great men Tennessee gives to the Nation have an especial quality about them. They have honesty and straight courage, simplicity, and devotion to the people. Tennessee has given us Andrew Jackson, Andrew Johnson, Cordell Hull, and now we are met to pay tribute to another great Tennessean, ESTES KEFAUVER.

The death of this great Senator from Tennessee was, of course, a personal loss to me as it was to every other man in the Senate. More than that it was, however, in a very real sense a personal loss for the people of America. No man in modern times has known more Americans across the length and breadth of the country than has ESTES KEFAUVER; no man has been more beloved by them than was he.

I was in Indiana the weekend of his death and many, many strangers expressed to me their sorrow and personal loss at the sad news. It was, Mr. President, most impressive.

The people loved him because they sensed—they knew—that his life and his career were dedicated to their interests. He fought a good fight for the people. In the tradition of Jackson and Johnson he represented them all. Not the wealthy, the powerful, the special interest groups, the minorities or the coalitions, he represented the people.

The record of his 24 years' service in the Congress stands as a greater memorial to the man than anything we can say here. His work on improving legislative processes was important. So, too, were his well-known investigations into national crime, juvenile delinquency, Dixon-Yates, steel pricing, insurance regulation. Perhaps his most lasting and significant work is that which led to congressional approval of the Kefauver drug bill only last year. Looking back it seems unthinkable that there should be opposition to a proposal requiring adequate testing of experimental drugs in the laboratory and on experimental animals before allowing them to be used on human patients. There was opposition, however, and it was only because of the dogged and relentless work of the late Senator from Tennessee that the bill became law. It was his work.

It will be a long time before we again have such a man as ESTES KEFAUVER in the Senate.

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, the death of our beloved colleague, ESTES KEFAUVER, removed from the Senate one of its most colorful and distinguished Members. ESTES had many truly remarkable qualities. Among them was his devotion to the cause of good government. He spent much of his lifetime fighting corruption and racketeering in and out of Government. He was one of the most relentless antagonists of monopolistic practices in industry. The Senate committee dealing with monopolies, which he headed, established a nationwide reputation.

ESTES KEFAUVER will go down in history as one of the more able and hard working Members of the Senate. Few, if any, Senators ever won as many friends throughout the United States as he.

In my own State of North Dakota he had a very large and devoted following. I know of no one who ever came to our State who was so well received.

Mr. President, I join with other Senators today in their expression of sympathy to his wife, Nancy, and all of his wonderful family.

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, we Missourians knew ESTES KEFAUVER as both a good neighbor and as a dear friend.

Throughout the State he was held in the very highest regard—a reputation that he earned from a never-yielding dedication to service to his fellow man, always in keeping with the cardinal truth of man's dignity and worth.

It was my good fortune to know ESTES KEFAUVER for many years. But only after my entry into the Senate, and the privilege and honor of associating closely with him as a colleague, did I fully realize what a fearless and dedicated public servant this tall and soft-spoken man truly was. Always his own man, his decision to fight for a principle was always determined by merit—not popularity—and once convinced of a principle he would not be dissuaded or discouraged.

As a man, a father, and a public servant, ESTES KEFAUVER was the personification of honor, devotion, dignity, and selfless charity. His was a never-ending struggle to protect the individual American, and to fight his causes without pause or regard for any measure of personal danger of political reprisals they might entail.

Men possessing the qualities of ESTES KEFAUVER are rare indeed, and I know that each of us is grateful for having had him as a colleague, and above all, as a loyal friend. The big Tennessean and his constant crusade for his fellow citizens are a part of the heritage of the U.S. Senate, our American Government and the body of mankind—but his example will surely be an inspirational guide to generations of the future long after the events of his generation are ancient history.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER will be missed by millions of Americans as well as by his colleagues here in the Senate. It was not his physical stature alone or his splended talent as a legislator that enabled him to achieve such lofty recognition.

The reason is more attributable to a combination of poise, agility, and altruistic sincerity in dealing with people and in working for a cause. And as Robert Frost wrote in "Birches":

> He learned all there was
> To learn about not launching out too soon
> And so not carrying the tree away
> Clear to the ground. He always kept his poise
> To the top branches, climbing carefully
> With the same pains you use to fill a cup
> Up to the brim, and even above the brim.
> Then he flung outward, feet first, with a swish,
> Kicking his way down through the air to the ground.

Yes. ESTES was a "swinger of birches"; for when an issue demanded, he would explore it from its earthy embodiment through its esoteric abstractions to rend full round the spectrum of considerations.

Indeed, this form was evident as ESTES KEFAUVER crusaded against crime in the United States, and devoted such effort to the problems of juvenile delinquency. It is only coincidental that it was his work in these areas that catapulted him within sight of the White House, for the Senator had that innate quality of loving and being loved by mankind.

This almost Lincolnesque Senator from Tennessee endeared himself to masses of people to an extent equaled by perhaps only a few of his contemporaries. It often seemed to me, as I observed ESTES KEFAUVER, that the art of knowing people was part of his nature. Of course, that art is indispensable to a politician, but with him it was the natural thing.

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. Mr. President, it is with a deep sense of sadness and profound loss to all of us that we join together today in paying tribute to the late Senator from Tennessee, ESTES KEFAUVER.

The news of Senator KEFAUVER's death came with a great shock to the Senate, to the Congress, and to the Nation; and when the news came, we knew that we had lost one of this Nation's greatest patriots.

Senator KEFAUVER served his State and his Nation with unusual distinction for many years and in the years that I had the pleasure of knowing him, I came to admire him greatly and respect his outstanding abilities.

He was a quiet man, an humble man, and a man who dedicated his life to the principles that have made this Nation what it is today.

ESTES KEFAUVER was always a down-to-earth man, and even though he held the high position he did and the wide respect of leaders throughout the world, he always remained close to the people of Tennessee and to the surroundings from which he came.

We will all miss ESTES KEFAUVER and the outstanding work he did in many areas of public interest; but just as important, we will miss his easy manner, his kindly personality, and his gentle nature.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I want to add my word of appreciation for a courageous Senator, ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, who has departed this life. He died as he lived—in the service of his State and his Nation. He died in the position of responsibility which he loved.

As one of his colleagues in the body, I happened to know that when he was his party's nominee for the second highest position in the Nation, that of Vice President, his chief concern was the prospect of his having to give up his senatorship had his party prevailed in the general election. His untiring work in the Senate—and especially as chairman of important investigating committees—showed his love for his position.

He made his mark in the world—and ruthless racketeers whom he so ably exposed in committee hearings will not soon forget his thoroughness. His accomplishments in the performance of his duties as a Senator benefited his country—and his country owes him much.

In these brief remarks, however, I wish to speak in a more personal light. I knew ESTES KEFAUVER as a kind, thoughtful individual, a human being of warmth, a quality sometimes lost sight of because of his vigorous convictions and his willingness to fight for what he thought was right.

I admired ESTES KEFAUVER for his ability, his courage, and his honesty.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, although I know that I cannot add to the eloquent and moving tributes that have already been paid to our late departed colleague, ESTES KEFAUVER, I do want to express my deep sorrow and regret at his passing.

Senator KEFAUVER and I served and worked together on the Appropriations Committee and the Judiciary Committee. Serving on committees with a fellow Senator gives one an opportunity to more accurately judge his personal qualities, his statesmanship capacity, and his work. In the years in which I worked with Senator KEFAUVER, I learned that he

always approached his duties with sincere dedication and to serve the welfare of our country according to his concepts of its best interest and security.

It was my privilege to be appointed as a member of the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee at the beginning of the current session of Congress. Senator KEFAUVER had a special interest in the work of this subcommittee, and my membership on the subcommittee enabled me to observe more closely his work as chairman. Senator KEFAUVER continued to discharge his duties as chairman of this subcommittee with persistence and dedication in spite of the fact that his health was beginning to fail him. Many weaker and less resolute men would have given up under such circumstances, but Senator KEFAUVER fought on unwaveringly with fortitude, strength, and devotion to duty.

Although Senator KEFAUVER and I disagreed on some of the important and basic questions which came before the Senate through the years, we shared a deep concern in regard to the growth of organized crime. He was one of the pioneers in our efforts to combat this menacing evil and deserves our lasting gratitude for his efforts.

I always respected him because he was true to his own convictions, he was determined in his efforts on behalf of the causes in which he believed, and he was a man who had the courage to stand alone if this became necessary to do so. He dealt with issues rather than personalities. While he fought hard for the things in which he believed, he was gracious and kindly to his adversaries, whether he won or lost. Mrs. McClellan and I express our deepest grief and heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and the family.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, may the Record show that I, too, wish to pay my respects to the memory of the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER from the State of Tennessee.

Senator KEFAUVER's official actions will forever be recorded in the proceedings of the House of Representatives and the

Senate. It is not my purpose at this time to attempt to enumerate them or discuss them.

I do want to stress the friendliness displayed by ESTES KEFAUVER. He liked people. He was polite and courteous. He was sincere in his dealings with all because he was interested in the welfare of those about him. All of my dealings with Senator KEFAUVER were most pleasant.

I wish to extend to Mrs. Kefauver and to her children and all the other friends and relatives of the late Senator my most sincere sympathy.

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I was not privileged to serve for long with Senator KEFAUVER in the U.S. Senate, but I am sure that I feel his loss as deeply as any of his veteran colleagues here.

My association with Senator KEFAUVER, and my admiration for his position in public affairs, goes back many years. In 1952, I was chairman of the KEFAUVER for President delegation in Wisconsin, and in a free and open presidential primary, the people of Wisconsin elected me as one of their delegates pledged to Senator KEFAUVER at the Democratic National Convention. Senator KEFAUVER swept the Wisconsin presidential primary that year, and again in 1956, and it was a great privilege for me to join with my fellow Wisconsin delegates in working for his nomination to the Nation's highest office.

The affection which the voters of Wisconsin showed for this man from Tennessee in 1952 and again in 1956 is understandable. He had a simple honesty about him which projected itself into the homes of our State. He was a rugged individualist, and this quality is greatly admired in Wisconsin. He took his stand on the sde of the public interest, whether he was battling organized crime, monopoly power, or price fixing, and the Wisconsin people appreciate this kind of a fight.

They admired it in the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette and in his son who carried on a similar tradition. And they

saw this same dedication to what we called "the Wisconsin idea"—the notion that government is to serve the people—in ESTES KEFAUVER.

Senator KEFAUVER's Wisconsin friends were especially impressed when he stood up for civil rights—at a time when it might have seemed far easier for him to stand silent. And certainly the swift rush of history since that time has proved how right he was.

In the all too brief time we worked together here in the Senate, I found his courage and his tenacity inspiring. I am pleased that there are Senators who will continue the Kefauver tradition.

And there are hundreds of others, in Tennessee and in Wisconsin and in all the corners of the land, who watched Senator KEFAUVER rise in public esteem and who are committed to the same goals that he fought to advance.

His passing is a great personal loss to us, but more than that, it shifts to new shoulders the heavy burden of defending the public interest in a world where this interest can too often be forgotten.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, I associate myself with the remarks of my colleagues in paying tribute to the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

Though we did not always see eye to eye on the various issues, no one could ever question the glistening honor and purest integrity of ESTES KEFAUVER. I was proud to call him "friend" along with thousands of others. He had the admiration, esteem, and respect of all of his colleagues in the Senate. He was truly a man of great courage and conviction, a dedicated public servant sincerely and honestly representing the views of his constituents. His devotion to duty to his State and Nation was unsurpassed. This illustrious son of Tennessee has unquestionably made a great contribution to our American heritage.

By his untimely passing, the people of Tennessee, the State of Tennessee, the U.S. Senate, and the Nation have lost the services of a truly great American.

At this time I wish to extend my deepest sympathy to his beloved wife and family because I know that their personal loss is a great one, indeed. They have the comfort of knowing that he was a good husband, a good father, and a dedicated public servant who contributed much to America, and with devotion and fidelity he carried out fully the duties of the high office of public trust which he occupied.

ESTES KEFAUVER had one of the most genial and affable dispositions ever possessed by a human being. He was loyal not only to his convictions—he was loyal to his friends and his country.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of our beloved friend and colleague.

The sudden and tragic death of ESTES KEFAUVER came as a personal loss to millions of people who had never met this man, but who regarded him as a friend.

ESTES KEFAUVER was the kind of man who has always won the hearts of the people. There was something of Jackson and Lincoln in him. He was a man of humble beginnings who won great victories, suffered heartbreaking defeats, but who never lost the warmth, the friendliness, and the sincerity which characterized his life.

Here, truly, was one who could walk with kings yet not lose the common touch.

He was a legendary figure and like most men who make a mighty impact on the public consciousness, he had his familiar trademarks—the friendly handshake, the quiet voice, the humble manner.

But there was much more to ESTES KEFAUVER than the public image. He was honest and he was courageous. He fought great battles in behalf of the American people with an unconquerable persistence that will be remembered when the coonskin cap and the craggy smile are forgotten.

He saw the evil of organized crime and, almost singlehandedly, made the public conscious of the ugly network of

entrenched crime which operates on a national basis. He saw the growing danger of juvenile delinquency, and he set in motion a series of investigations and remedial programs which are now beginning to bear fruit.

He saw the moral threat which giant monopolies pose for our free, competitive system, and he had the courage to investigate these great concentrations of financial power and to show how some of them were conspiring to fix prices and to strangle competition.

Many of you will remember Senator KEFAUVER's forthright campaigns for the presidential nomination. I recall the roll-call at the 1952 convention when the spokesman for one of the delegations being polled declared:

We cast our votes for ESTES KEFAUVER, the man who takes orders from no one.

This could well serve as his epitaph. In behalf of his concept of the public interest, he fought for the welfare of the American people against the political bosses, the crime bosses, and the big money bosses—and through all these titanic struggles, ESTES KEFAUVER took orders from no one but his conscience.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a very great man; so kind that he would take to heart the problems of the most humble and obscure citizens; so generous that he had time for everyone's troubles but his own; so strong that he would do daily battle with the most powerful interests in the land; so gentle that he always shunned the harsh word, no matter how unbearable the provocation.

He was a friendly giant who poured out his great strength in behalf of the sick, the aged, and the weak.

He wanted everyone to have a fair chance in the race of life, and to his last hour he persevered in this noble endeavor.

Like a giant tree that has come crashing down to earth, his passing leaves a great void that will never be filled.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, with the passing of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, who was my warm and devoted friend,

the Nation has lost an able statesman and a courageous legislator. His coonskin hat was a symbol of his dedication to the traditions and heritage of our precious land. ESTES KEFAUVER was soft-spoken, but he was a leader and a champion of many worthy causes. He had foresight, and integrity and the courage of his convictions whether his cause was popular or unpopular at the particular moment.

ESTES KEFAUVER will be remembered in history because of the causes to which he dedicated his life. To ESTES, no job was too large or too small, too important or too menial for him to tackle. His interest was the public interest, as he saw it, whether he was exposing corruption or pleading for better understanding among the nations of the free world.

ESTES KEFAUVER will be sorely missed by all who knew and admired him. The Senate, indeed the Nation, is poorer for his passing. His death has left a void in each of our hearts that only time can try to fill.

Today, as we offer a sincere remembrance to our departed colleague, we are saddened by his passing. But let us try to look beyond our own grief and be grateful for the inspiration we have all received from ESTES KEFAUVER's wonderful fighting spirit, his powerful convictions, his integrity, and—perhaps above all else—his uniquely human personality.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, a great Senator from a border State who unsuccessfuly sought the Presidency on three occasions said, "I know no South, no North, no East, no West to which I owe my allegiance." More than a century after Clay's remark, the same and more can well be said of ESTES KEFAUVER. He was a citizen of the world, and he was a citizen of Lewistown, Kalispell, Great Falls, Sidney, and Butte, Mont. Those towns are a long way from Tennessee. But the persons who live in those and other Montana communities share with us a deep personal loss in the death of Senator KEFAUVER, a man they had met, to whom they had talked, a man they respected and admired. The only time

Montanans voted in a presidential primary they voted, overwhelmingly, for ESTES KEFAUVER.

I first met Senator KEFAUVER in those days when he was campaigning for President. I was impressed by his forthrightness, his humility, his understanding of the needs of the rank and file. Of course, I had been impressed and somewhat awed by the accomplishments of the committee he headed investigating crime.

Senator KEFAUVER was scheduled into Kalispell for a speech when he was informed in Missoula that the pilot of his chartered plane could not get the plane into Kalispell because of weather conditions. Unhesitatingly he set off in a smaller chartered plane with a handful of reporters on a trip that has become a historical saga of one of the roughest and most perilous flights that was ever undertaken.

This points up the outstanding feature of Senator KEFAUVER—his courage. He had physical and moral courage alike. Whether it was a flight to Kalispell, a struggle against crime, or a fight on behalf of the Atlantic Union, he never weighed the odds, he plunged into the struggle on the side he believed to be the right one, and frequently wrested victory from almost certain defeat.

Since I came to Congress it has been my good fortune to know ESTES KEFAUVER better. My admiration and respect for his ability, his integrity, his courage, his patience and understanding has grown with closer acquaintance. Millions of Americans all over our great Nation share our grief today and speak through us their gratitude for the efforts and accomplishments of the tall Senator from Tennessee who fought so many battles in their behalf.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, in the death of ESTES KEFAUVER, I lost not only a good friend, but a colleague whose political philosophy was oftentimes companion to my own.

Senator KEFAUVER and I frequently were comembers of a Senate group working for a common objective, and often it

was an objective not supported by the majority. Defeat almost could be foretold.

Yet no matter how overwhelming this defeat, or how discouraged he may have been momentarily, Senator KEFAUVER always seemed the first to begin picking up the pieces, and to begin planning on another attack—another way to achieve the desired objective.

It was this resiliency—this ability to bounce back after defeat—which was one of ESTES KEFAUVER'S greatest attributes. He combined with it tenacity and strength. Of ESTES it could truly be said—again and again—he has only begun to fight.

The many victories of his fighting spirit are reflected in numerous laws now on the books which make America a better place in which to live. He will probably be best remembered for the Celler-Kefauver Antimerger Act, and the drug bill of 1962, which strengthened prescription drug protection, but other measures which he had a strong hand in getting through the Senate are legion. His achievements will live in the history of our times.

ESTES KEFAUVER had ability, leadership, and great patriotism. He was completely fearless and completely dedicated. If he felt something was right, no power on earth could stop him. He was a true friend of the common man—of the average citizen—and his death was a real loss to rank-and-file America. It will be a long time before his shoes are filled.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I mourn the passing of our distinguished colleague, the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER of Tennessee.

Before his untimely death on August 10, 1963, he displayed an apparently endless capacity for hard work.

His kind disposition and humility set examples that all Members of the Senate admired. He was diligent and energetic; he was thorough and vigorous.

Although we did not always see the issues before the Senate alike, I admired his convictions, his courage, and the diligence with which he pursued the causes in which he believed.

We shall greatly miss our colleague.

We extend our heartfelt sympathy to his family.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, today we pay well-deserved tribute to the memory of ESTES KEFAUVER, whose untimely death saddened us all.

The late U.S. Senator from Tennessee was a big man, not only in natural stature but also in the service he rendered the citizens of his State and the people of this Nation.

He moved about these Halls of Congress and across the length and breadth of this land with the slow but deliberate and determined speed of a man who knows where he is going and what he wants to do.

Here was a man who let nothing come between him and his devotion to duty and what he believed to be right. He was not to be deterred from his calling. Senator KEFAUVER had the tenacious courage of his convictions, and for this he had the high admiration of his colleagues in this body and the respect of his countrymen.

A warm and friendly man who was always ready with a firm handshake and a wide smile, Senator KEFAUVER perhaps will best be remembered as a friend of the people and the champion of the common man.

It was said that he could turn his back on no man, regardless of how small or insignificant he may seem to others. Having risen from humble beginnings on a small farm near Madisonville, Tenn., to a seat in the House of Representatives and later to a position of nationwide renown in the U.S. Senate and Democratic Party, Senator KEFAUVER was himself a symbol of the sturdy stock of men and women who made this country great.

Senator KEFAUVER also won a respected place in history as the nemesis of hoodlums and racketeers whose organized

crime cartels are a blight on this country and shocking to the consciences of all law-abiding people.

In the almost 25 years that he served in the Congress—10 years in the House of Representatives and 15 years in the Senate—Senator KEFAUVER made many outstanding contributions to the continuing welfare of the United States, and we all are in his debt.

Up to the end, Senator KEFAUVER occupied an active and interested place in this Chamber. He was stricken while engaged in a debate on this floor and 2 days later, his heart was stilled.

The presence of this tall and lanky man from Tennessee will be sorely missed.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, each of us joined here today has his own personal sense of loss on the passing of this great statesman.

ESTES KEFAUVER was an uncommon man. He doggedly pursued causes which sparked controversy and emotion. He set for himself goals which were difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. He had an abiding sense of political and economic righteousness which sometimes left him standing alone while others retired to safer ground. He took on adversaries of enormous strength and engaged in battles which many times were never won to his satisfaction.

He encountered bitterness, frustration, and vituperation, but through it all ESTES KEFAUVER was a great gentleman. He never lost his smile, his warmth, his respect for his adversary.

ESTES KEFAUVER also never lost his grip, his tenacious role as a congressional watchdog and an independent thinker. He was at all times a liberal, perhaps one of the last of the populists—a critic, a man of action, and one whose integrity could not ever be compromised.

His concern for the common man has become a national legend. His popular identification was manifest in the tremendous popular support he received in his campaigns for

the presidential nomination. His constant support for the rights of labor, for the small businessman, for the consumer, for the farmer, and for community needs earned him his popular regard.

He exposed the top brass of the criminal underworld. He fought against excessive economic concentration. He fought for competition. He took the lead in examining into the causes of juvenile delinquency. He inquired into the high prices of prescription drugs, resulting in the passage of drug control legislation which bears his name. He risked his own political career in 1960 by opposing forced segregation of the races. He strongly favored and worked for the TVA, rural electrification, greater aid to education, improved veterans' benefits and services, greater social security and old-age health benefits. In the foreign field, he was chairman of the Political Committee of the NATO Parliamentarian Conference and was a leader at the recent Atlantic Congress. As with his domestic policy, he believed in a free, competitive economic union of Western nations as a strong protection against the encroaching monopoly of the Communist world.

ESTES KEFAUVER is a symbol to those who follow him in taking up the responsibilities of government. He teaches us all that it is necessary to have healthy doubts. He teaches us not to shun controversy. He teaches us to ask the big questions and reach our solutions on the basis of tough reasoning.

I did not share the long personal association with Mr. KEFAUVER which so many Members of this body enjoyed, as I only served with him here a few months. I regret that that period was so brief. But I did share the opportunity to admire, and I hope to benefit from, his example. I shared this opportunity with millions upon millions of Americans, and we are all better for it.

As a young man and as a freshman Senator, I was keenly aware of his place in the Senate, in the Democratic Party, and in the Nation. I held him in the highest esteem. I admired his courage, and I admired his sense of purpose. I admired him even when I did not agree with him.

I believe we are better for the sacrifices he gave, willingly and unselfishly, to advance his liberal philosophy which embraced the basic rights of all free men. We have his example.

It is with humility that I pay him respect today.

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, all of us when we are newly come to the Senate, seek out those senior colleagues we most admire as teachers and counselors in the ways of this great body. And I had always counted myself uncommonly fortunate to have as a warm, generous, and inspiring teacher ESTES KEFAUVER.

He taught us that compromise and accommodation need not be the legislator's invariable course—that defeat, even crushing defeat, was preferable to the dilution of basic principles.

He taught us to differentiate the well-rehearsed chorus of special pleaders from the inadequately amplified voice of the individual citizen.

He did not worship togetherness when he found that the pursuit of his ideals left him virtually alone; and he revealed that there can be magnificence in defeat as well as victory.

He taught us that the romance of America transcends the sectionalism, the empty forms of tradition and even party.

He taught us by his living example the meaning of courage in a 20th century democracy.

To those who opposed him, he offered reason, not rancor. To those who labored with him he extended inflexible loyalty.

Most important, he taught us that the fortunes of narrow, special interest groups will flourish and debase our society unless we act with uncommon courage and insight to challenge them. In this, as in all things, he himself embodied the wisdom of his teaching.

These lessons—more than his tangible legislative imprint, which was great—more than his striking political image, more than his historical rank among the great legislators of our time are his legacy to his colleagues and to his country.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER played a role in the U.S. Senate and on the American political stage which was unique. His public career was a long and yet an all too brief record of devotion, courage, and vision. He was an unswerving champion of the public interest as against the claims of selfish special interests.

He looked out on the world with eyes of peace.

He loved the American people, and they returned that love in countless villages, farms, and cities across the land.

His passing was especially mourned in my home State—South Dakota.

I always believed that he and his lovely wife, Nancy, also had a special feeling of warmth for South Dakota. He was the most popular national figure ever to campaign in our State. We shall sorely miss him.

May providence sustain his widow, Nancy, his children, and his many loved ones and friends.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER was a vigorous battler for the values in which he believed and his untimely passing was a great shock and a great loss to the Senate and the Nation. I came into closest association with him in our work together as members of the NATO Parliamentarians Conference, which he helped to found and to which he made invaluable contributions. He was the original sponsor of the Atlantic Union resolution when he began his Senate career in 1949, and throughout his service here he was an effective leader in the movement toward a true Atlantic partnership. During this last year, he was in the process of combining his deep interest in economic concentration and antitrust with this long dedication to the Atlantic community by holding hearings on the subject of the developing antitrust law of the European Common Market. It was with great satisfaction that he and I joined together in perfecting aspects of the drug bill enacted in 1962, particularly in ending the use of experimental drugs upon

patients without their consent, which had come to light in the thalidomide tragedy and which, hopefully, the Food and Drug Administration is now policing. We did not agree on all issues, but I always found ESTES a stanch and effective advocate, in the best and finest traditions of the U.S. Senate. He was a dear and genial friend and the Nation, as well as each of us as his warm friend, mourns his loss.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I wish to join other Senators in paying tribute to ESTES KEFAUVER as our esteemed colleague in the U.S. Senate, as a former Member of the House of Representatives, as a citizen who made a great contribution to good government in his home State of Tennessee and in the United States, and as a man whose personality and friendly manner enriched the lives of all who knew and worked with him.

ESTES KEFAUVER came to be known and admired by millions of citizens for a wide variety of accomplishments. He has left a permanent record of contributions to the structure of government and to politics and to respect for the law.

I should like to single out one quality in particular which characterized the many investigations and political activities he undertook: that is his courage.

ESTES KEFAUVER was never impressed by the obstacles which existed nor was he deterred from a position which he thought right on the advice that this was an unpopular cause or that it might be politically expedient to withdraw.

He did not hesitate to investigate crime and unsavory activities even when investigations showed links with supposedly respectable groups in society. He did not hesitate to investigate corporations and business relationships if he thought them in violation of the law. He spoke out for procedural reform in the Congress. He stood firm in defense of the interest of consumers and in defense of the civil rights of all citizens. He twice sought the nomination of his party for the Presidency, and he was honored by the Democratic Party as its nominee for the Vice Presidency in 1956.

He had understanding of the needs of people and sympathy for their problems. He served and loved his country, but he also saw the needs of people in other nations and the benefits which could come to them and to us through a more active participation by the United States in international affairs.

He spoke out for an Atlantic Union in 1949 and he continued his efforts for a federation of freedom-loving peoples. There has been no general acceptance of the idea of an Atlantic Union, but his efforts have had an effect by widening the vision of Congress and the people. Because ESTES KEFAUVER spoke and worked for an advanced form of international community, the entire question of international relations and international commitments has been studied more broadly and more carefully.

I join with other Senators and with the many friends of ESTES KEFAUVER in expressing deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and their children.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, today we pay homage to a great American. ESTES KEFAUVER is gone from our midst, yet he lives on through the good works of a lifetime of struggle in behalf of every person in this Nation.

This was a man who often stood alone against great odds as he confronted and challenged dangers to our society. With gentle voice but persistent manner he moved directly toward his objectives—and he achieved results.

He was the champion of the American consumer—deeply concerned about the individual citizen's health and pocketbook. He was a crusader for the consumer interest, most recently in his one-man battle for safe and effective drugs at a reasonable price. The last legislation to bear his name will endure through the years as a monument to his efforts to improve the quality of the Nation's supply of drugs and provide protection for the Nation's consumers. Had he accomplished nothing more in his 24 years in Congress, this effort alone assured him a place in history.

But of all his attributes—of all his accomplishments—I shall remember him best as a Senator of the people—not just of the people of Tennessee, but of the Nation. He went to them and worked in their behalf. And they responded to him. They knew him when he walked down the main street of their cities and towns. They knew him as a friend—one who would help when they needed him. No other Member of this body in recent times became better known or better loved by so many people of these United States. He dedicated his life to their interests. He was of them, by choice, and for the common good of all.

ESTES KEFAUVER'S strength was rooted in his firm convictions. His guidance came from constant touch with everyday Americans. He was their servant. They—and all of us—shall miss him.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, the sudden and untimely passing of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER has shocked and saddened us all, and it is with heavy heart that I join my colleagues today in honoring his memory.

The late Senator from Tennessee left his mark everywhere—on the State that sent him to Washington, on the Senate, and upon millions of Americans everywhere.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a most distinguished Senator. He was an able representative of Tennessee, mindful always of the needs of his State. He was a man who fought always for the causes he felt were right.

Although it was never my privilege to serve on a Senate committee with ESTES KEFAUVER, he was a dear friend, and I miss him very much. His great energy, distinguished service, and deep concern for the less privileged and the economically distressed made friends for him wherever he went.

Who can estimate how many Americans shook his hand and thrilled to his warm smile as he trekked across the Nation seeking support in his campaigns for the Presidency. Who can estimate how many Americans will tell their children and grandchildren that they shook the hand of a tall,

sincere man who said to them: "I am ESTES KEFAUVER; I'm running for President of the United States, and I hope you'll help me."

His ability was rewarded 7 years before his untimely passing when he received from his party the second highest honor it can bestow—its nomination for Vice President of the United States.

Mr. President, the State of Tennessee and the citizens of our Nation have lost a most distinguished servant, and the Senate has lost a stalwart Member. Mrs. Cannon and I have lost a friend, and we join in extending to Mrs. Kefauver and her family our deepest sympathy.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I wish to join my distinguished colleagues in the Senate today to pay tribute to a truly great American from the State of Tennessee. Much has already been said in praise and much will be said in deep respect today and in future years about the majesty of this man. Many will point in great detail to the numerous significant measures he has personally offered or sponsored during his service in the Congress of the United States. Still others will single out his lasting contributions to the effectiveness of his indefatigable work in committee protecting the rights of all individuals.

All of us will recall vividly the days when this tall American in coonskin hat and proffered handshake traveled the highways and byways of this great Nation seeking the highest office the country could bestow, not for the glory of the office but for the opportunities which he believed to be available for further service to the people.

I loved and admired Senator ESTES KEFAUVER because, like all Americans, I love and admire men of dedication to service and courage. It is relatively easy to lead a popular crusade supported by the multitude. It is comparatively easy to speak loudly when public acceptance and ovation can certainly be anticipated for one's remarks. But I believe it takes a man of great courage and integrity to speak for

unpopular causes. To speak for anyone whose rights have been denied and who has been viewed with suspicion by those easily swayed by the prevailing emotions takes an extremely courageous man. To raise a voice of dissent against the virulent multitude is not for the timid.

Senator KEFAUVER lived a life of courage and service. This Nation of ours is great because we have had men who were cast in the image of the great Senator from Tennessee. Our Nation would long ago have failed to attain its potential were it not for those who chose to run against the tide when a sense of conscience and duty so decreed.

I thank our Creator for sending us such a person during this decade of darkness and tension.

We will miss Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, but his spirit will long guide us in the work which faces us in the Congress of these United States.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I rise at this time to mourn the loss of ESTES KEFAUVER. He always had the interests of the little man in the forefront of his superb mind, and his death is a particular loss to the little man. And, to paraphrase Abraham Lincoln the Lord preferred the common people, because He made so many of them.

Big business and big labor had no impact upon ESTES KEFAUVER'S views, his votes, or his actions. He was a man of courage and rectitude, and his loss is a very real one and deeply meaningful.

Speaking as a friend, and one who admired him very much indeed, I know how heavy my own heart is at his death. I extend all my own and my wife's sympathy to his wife, Nancy, to his daughter, Gail, who is a friend of my daughter, and to his other children. The only consolation I can offer to his family, to those closest to him, is that Senator KEFAUVER'S death is a loss, not only to them, but to our Nation and to all our people; in fact, to all our whole world.

Senator KEFAUVER was a constant leader in our national strivings to eliminate unfairness and abuse. It is indicative

of his zeal and of his efforts that he fought for the beliefs he cherished until the very end of his life. Truly, his life represents our highest standards of public service.

His place in this body and his influence in our lives will be almost impossible to replace. And his courage is beyond duplication.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, we pay tribute here today to one of the alltime stalwarts of this body, the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. He was a champion of the man of the street.

Though he rose from humble surroundings, like so many of the great patriots from his native State of Tennessee, he towered above the crowd, and through his tireless efforts fought those whom he felt were in a position to take advantage of the common man. His doggedness, his character, his entire life was expended in establishing a better nation and a better world.

Tennessee has sent many outstanding servants to the U.S. Senate; it has given our Nation an outstanding President in Andrew Jackson, one who it was said was the first to recognize the common man and to rise above aristocracy. It gave us a great Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and it did no less when it recognized ESTES KEFAUVER's exceptional ability.

I consider ESTES KEFAUVER a close friend. I appreciated his counsel, his friendship, and his down-to-earth interpretations of the troublesome national and international problems.

All of us have reviewed many glowing tributes to Senator KEFAUVER by the press of this Nation. One tribute from the Daily Post Athenian in his native State seemed to me to be most appropriate, and I should like to quote in part from this outstanding editorial which expresses so well my feelings toward our late distinguished colleague:

America is mourning. One of her alltime great sons is dead.

It is a long way from a rambling white house on Main Street in Madisonville, a little town in east Tennessee, to the White House on historic Pennsylvania Avenue in the Nation's Capital. But ESTES almost made it.

Perhaps fate denied him the Presidency and acclaimed him spokesman for the rank and file of the country.

That's what he was.

From New Hampshire to Florida, from Minnesota to California, from Chattanooga to Seattle, the tall Tennessean was the voice of the man who had something to say and could not be heard above the clamor of the crowd.

KEFAUVER spoke for him.

His message was heard and heeded.

To say that he was always liked would be an injustice to him. At times he was bitterly opposed in his contentions, but he never swerved from his course. He never violated his own conscience, and never betrayed a course he represented.

These things made him a champion.

Indeed, the letter "T" summarizes the life of KEFAUVER—tall, talented, trustworthy, and triumphant.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to pay respects to our late colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, a man whose unique ability and capabilities allowed him to rise from humble origin to a position of stature in the Senate of the United States of America. His career as a public servant stretched over a great many years and was highlighted in many instances by notable investigations and Senate proceedings with him at the forefront. He was a man noted for his constancy of purpose and unswerving dedication to his goal. My relations with him were always pleasant and congenial, and I was deeply impressed with the courtesy which he displayed toward everyone he met. He was a man whose warm and friendly personality enabled him to make the acquaintance of many people from coast to coast. He seemed to thoroughly enjoy meeting and being with people.

Senator KEFAUVER had a great interest in athletics which carried over from his college days. His physical stature and appearance were the envy of men many years his junior. I offer my heartfelt sympathy to his devoted widow and family in this time of bereavement.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, few Senators have made a contribution to this Nation comparable to that of Senator KEFAUVER. Honored by election to the U.S. Senate and nomination for the Vice Presidency, he remained steadfast in modesty and the constant application of his talents to the needs of all Americans.

As we who admired his tenacity and his devotion to principle, I want to take this opportunity to pay tribute to Senator KEFAUVER as a fighter for justice, integrity, free competition in the business world, and fair treatment for all Americans. His contributions to this body will be felt and seen for many years.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the death of ESTES KEFAUVER came as a personal shock to many millions of Americans, I am sure. He was known not only as a Senator from Tennessee; he was regarded as a friend by many citizens who knew him for his tireless campaigning and his unrelenting determination to root out injustice wherever it existed.

To us in the Senate, the blow was an especially hard one. It was a privilege to work with Senator KEFAUVER and to watch him at work in this Chamber. He was the enemy of unfair advantage. He had the gift to see the right and the wrong in every situation. His basic values never changed, no matter how complex the issue was, no matter what pressures were exerted to cloud the issues.

The State of Tennessee has produced many great men. One of my heroes at college was Cordell Hull. Senator KEFAUVER was a worthy heir to Hull's ideals of service and social justice. It was an honor to serve with Senator KEFAUVER. His loss is one of the tragedies of our time.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, this has been a memorable day in the Senate. It is a day that has been dedicated to a very fine, great, and good man. The works of this good

man will live on for many generations, and the memory of this good man will live with us throughout our lives.

The life of a great man is very much like the course of a mighty river. It springs from humble and obscure beginnings; it gathers strength from many tributaries and refreshes all the lands it passes through; and ultimately, as it reaches the ocean, it links itself with all mankind.

So it was with our late and beloved colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. At every stage of his long journey from the hills of Tennessee to the Halls of Congress, he grew in strength and stature with widening experience—and, at every stage, he gave far more in devoted service than he received in public honors.

Coming to this body at the same time he did, I can speak from 15 years of close and almost daily contact. Yet, when I cast my mind back over those years, I am amazed at all he attempted, and even more at how much he accomplished.

He attacked the underworld of gamblers and gangsters and the overworld of monopoly business with equal energy and courage. His television hearings cast a glaring and cleansing light upon the links between government and organized crime. His probes of price rigging in the steel, electrical machinery, and other industries showed how our free enterprise system can be distorted by a privileged few at the expense of the many. Everything he did was characterized by dogged and diligent attention to detail. It was pioneering work, as well—and it blazed paths that all of us can follow.

I think today of his patient and persevering efforts to insure the highest standards of purity and safety in the drugs upon which many Americans must depend for their well-being or even their survival. It was a long and uphill struggle. I think particularly of the aid and encouragement he and his able staff gave to Dr. Frances Kelsey in her stubborn resistance to permitting thalidomide to be put on the market. Thanks to Dr. Kelsey, thousands of American children were born healthy and whole who would otherwise have

been tragically deformed; and thanks to the impact of this experience, Senator KEFAUVER was able at length to secure legislation more adequately protecting the public against such risks.

I well recall the discussions and the debates on the so-called Kefauver-Harris drug bill, and I remember the tenacity that characterized the efforts of Senator KEFAUVER and the success that crowned his efforts.

Senator KEFAUVER was a faithful advocate for his State and his region of the country. He was a stanch proponent of the Tennessee Valley Authority and played a leading role in exposing the effort to erode it through what is now known as the infamous Dixon-Yates contract.

Yet from the first his horizons embraced the wider world. Before the Atlantic Community was more than a gleam in the eyes of a few far-seeing men, he sponsored the first Atlantic Union resolution—and saw it finally enacted 11 years later. Supporting NATO and seeing in it much more than a mere military alliance, he sought to give it political content by helping to found the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference.

I hope that in the forthcoming NATO Parliamentarians' Conference that the delegates from the United States will see fit to pay tribute to the leadership of Senator KEFAUVER. I believe that our friends and compatriots in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would be appreciative of the efforts of the delegates from the United States to remind the parliamentarians once again of the work and of the vision of our departed colleague.

Zealous to protect the President's authority in foreign affairs, he threw himself into the successful fight against the so-called Bricker amendment, in which position he believed sincerely, and in which I fully concurred. That amendment would have severely restricted the authority of the President to conduct our foreign policy.

His was a full life, and he had his share of bitter disappointment as well. I often wondered from what deep sources he drew the strength to carry on. I believe that it was because he came back, over and over again, to the people of

Tennessee and of all America, to commune with them and refresh his dedication to their cause. But he was no mere common denominator of his constituents' views, although he sought them and respected them. Precisely because he was so deeply and firmly rooted in the people, he could on significant occasions step out ahead of them. In the fields of civil rights and civil liberties, he took lonely and unpopular positions which time—and, I am delighted to add, the voters of Tennessee—subsequently justified.

Senator KEFAUVER was loved and respected all the way from the courthouse squares of Tennessee to the parliaments of Europe. But I want here and now to bear witness that nowhere was he more respected, nowhere is his memory more cherished, than in this Chamber—both among those who disagreed with him and those who usually, but not always, agreed with him.

He gave himself unstintingly, generously, and indeed sacrificially to the service of the people and of the causes in which he believed. He was a true Democrat in the best sense of that word, a believer in democratic institutions and a practitioner of democratic ideas. The highest honor we can pay him is to draw inspiration from the noble example he has set us.

Mr. President, I should like at this time to pay my respects to his wonderful and lovely wife, Nancy Kefauver, and to their fine family. We were privileged, as the Humphrey family, to be very close to friends of the Kefauver family. There are no words of any tribute or memorial that can properly express the heartfelt feelings that exist between good friends.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to the memory of a great Senator, a great Democrat, and a great American, ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee. His passing was a shock to the U.S. Senate, and I think I am speaking for the entire body when I say that I cannot think of a single man whose unique qualities will be more sorely missed. The

late Senator from Tennessee made a lasting mark upon this body—a mark which many may strive to copy but which will never be duplicated.

ESTES KEFAUVER had a single-mindedness of purpose and raw courage seldom matched by a public servant. Sometimes these qualities tried the patience of his friends as well as of his foes. But it always stood him in good stead with the little people of this country, who flocked to his coonskin standard in great numbers and with great enthusiasm. Certainly it endeared him to the hearts of his constituents who returned him time and time again to Congress.

The public image of the big man in the coonskin cap gladhanding his way about the country paints a deceptively simple picture of a complex man. ESTES KEFAUVER tried his hand at many things, and was successful in nearly all of them. His efforts as a college football player, a student political leader, and a practicing lawyer were crowned with success.

It is fitting that his first venture into politics should be against an entrenched machine. As a Representative, and later as a Senator, he continued to hammer away at any element which he considered was infringing upon the rights of the common man. No opponent was too big or too powerful—organized crime, machine politics, privilege, monopolies. As a civil libertarian or as a defender of the interests of the consumer, he had few peers.

Only in his bid for the Presidency of the United States was success denied him. He reached his political zenith on the second rollcall of the 1952 nominating convention, climaxing a spectacular rise from relative obscurity to national prominence. It is to his great credit that he took this personal setback graciously, and that he agreed to serve his party as vice-presidential candidate in 1956.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a big man. He was big in body and possessed a big smile and a big handshake. But he should be remembered for his big heart. His love for humanity and his genuine concern for the downtrodden were unsurpassed. It was not for publicity or votes that this man drove himself beyond his physical limits in their behalf. In

his mind, special interests were to be fought, and if nobody else would fight them, he would. The persistence and zeal with which he tilted with the windmills of real or imagined evil strained the slender thread of forbearance of his colleagues on more than one occasion. But the differences were not personal and did not diminish our respect for him.

Those of us who served with ESTES KEFAUVER in the House and Senate have had the real pleasure of having watched a great American of humble origin rise to national heights of fame and success, insuring as he did so a unique place in our history books. The man with the ready smile and handshake, the colorful coonskin cap, and the penchant for "going it alone" when the going got rough, is already a legend. We who pay tribute to him today can only add kind footnotes to what history has already written.

Mr. President, I extend my deepest condolences to the family of the late ESTES KEFAUVER and to the people of his beloved Tennessee.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, at the time of his death, I had known ESTES KEFAUVER longer than I had any other Member of the Senate. It was a richly rewarding and inspiring association and friendship. I am sure that I received far more than I gave to this association and friendship.

But, then, I expect that this is true of all of those who knew him as most of us did. ESTES KEFAUVER was that kind of man.

He was a common man, and yet an uncommon man. He came from the common people. While he rose from his station, he remained a man with an uncommonly common touch. Yes, he remained a common man with the addition of the glamour that comes to a man of his position.

ESTES KEFAUVER was, I believe, in the tradition of Andrew Jackson. These two Tennesseans served their State and their Nation in much the same manner and with much the same ways.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a friend of the friendless. Frustrated in many of his own goals, he never stopped fighting for the things he believed in and for his friends.

This is a better Senate, a better country, and most of us are better men because ESTES KEFAUVER came our way.

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, in the passing of ESTES KEFAUVER, the Senate and the people of the United States lost an old and dear friend. His death left a void in the affairs of this Nation and in the hearts of his countrymen that can never be filled.

Although I did not share the long association with him that many of my colleagues enjoyed, I felt a great sense of deprivation and sorrow when I learned of his untimely death. I sincerely mean it when I say that I can think of no national figure who was more loved and admired by my fellow Hoosiers than was this gentle, yet dynamic, Tennessean.

ESTES KEFAUVER was always one of my personal heroes. As a freshman Senator it was natural for me to turn to him for that advice and counsel which is so necessary to those of us who are new to the ways of this body. I shall never forget the warmth and helpfulness which he showed me in my first few months in Washington. As fellow Senators, fellow Democrats, and fellow members of the Judiciary Committee, it was with a feeling of great honor that the junior Senator from Indiana was able to count the senior Senator from Tennessee among his closest associates. I shall sorely miss him.

But, Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER was more than a mentor and friend. Above all, he was an inspiration—a symbol of the ideal toward which all of us as representatives of the people should aspire. And, in the death of our beloved colleague, this inspiration—fortunately—lives on.

There were many characteristics of Senator KEFAUVER that helped to make him the truly great Senator and great American that he was. We have talked of many of them here:

His unfailing honesty, his humility, his forthrightness, his warmth, kindness, and concern for his fellow man, his courage, and his devotion to his job and to his country. But, above all, what impressed me most was that here in ESTES KEFAUVER was a man who really cared.

Here was a man who cared about the power of organized crime and who did all he could to fight it; a man who cared when he found that many of his fellow Americans were being overcharged for vitally needed medicines; a man who cared in a real and vital way about the effects of business concentration upon our free enterprise system; a man who cared above all for the plight of the common man.

We shall pay tribute to the memory of ESTES KEFAUVER each time we cast a vote for the common man, each time our convictions lead us to overcome our fears and dare to do battle with giants, each time we take a cause to heart and fight for it until the end.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a man who cared about his fellow man. In his death we realize how much we cared about him. Let us hope that his memory will long live in the hearts of us all to give us inspiration in the years ahead.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, the little people of America lost their foremost Washington lobbyist last month when ESTES KEFAUVER died.

The voice of the organized interests comes through clear and strong to Congress. The collective voice of the little people of the Nation is muffled and diffused. Representing them can be a lonely, frustrating task.

That was the role ESTES KEFAUVER undertook, tirelessly and valiantly. And the little people knew and understood that he was their advocate. The people of my State of North Dakota certainly did, because I witnessed their warm response to the man.

In the truest sense, ESTES KEFAUVER was a U.S. Senator. His constituency was not confined to Tennessee. It included the entire Nation.

ESTES KEFAUVER always was concerned about the underdog. As a southern Senator, it required no small amount of courage for him to support civil rights legislation.

He bothered to worry about the consumer—about his drug bills and his utility bills. In this latter endeavor he had a strong ally in my illustrious predecessor from North Dakota, Senator William Langer. Together they waged the successful battle to kill the Dixon-Yates contract, which would have undercut the public power yardstick in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

ESTES KEFAUVER took on organized crime. And he was unrelenting in his campaign against the evils of economic concentration and monopoly.

I am proud to have been a member of the small band of Senators ESTES KEFAUVER led last summer in the battle against turning over the communications satellite system to a private corporation.

He went down fighting on this issue, for he was struck by his fatal heart attack on the Senate floor while seeking an amendment to the NASA authorization bill to require reimbursement to taxpayers for research and development which will benefit the private communications satellite corporation.

On the communications satellite question, ESTES KEFAUVER was on the losing side, but I have every confidence that the wisdom and rightness of his position will be fully appreciated in the years to come.

As the stalwart champion of the little people, ESTES KEFAUVER sustained many disappointments and defeats, but having waged the good fight, he accepted them with grace.

The likes of ESTES KEFAUVER will not be seen in the U.S. Senate for a long time. He was a man of heroic dimensions, and it was a privilege to have served in the Senate with him.

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER was a truly great Senator and a very valued friend of mine.

From the time that both of us were elected to the Senate in 1948, we had something in common. That year smear

charges were made against me—specifically that I voted the Marcantonio line. I answered those smear charges with a devastating refutation pointing out that on some of the votes my opposition sought to smear me on as voting the same way that Representative Marcantonio did, so did the then Republican National Committee chairman, Representative B. Carroll Reece, of Tennessee.

The same charges were made against ESTES KEFAUVER in his campaign—and so I sent him my documented refutation of the smear charges. When we met at the opening of the 81st Congress and were first sworn in as Members of the U.S. Senate, ESTES KEFAUVER told me that he had taken what I had sent him and had used it to very effective advantage.

So while I grieve the passing of a true and deeply valued friend, I do find some solace in the memory that this great statesman of such tremendous courage found that I gave him effective ammunition to back up that courage at a most crucial time in his career.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House

MONDAY, *August 12, 1963.*

A message from the Senate announced that the Senate had passed a resolution, as follows:

S. RES. 180

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, late a Senator from the State of Tennessee.

Resolved, That a committee of Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an engrossed copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Davis], I offer a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 490

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, a Senator of the United States from the State of Tennessee.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of nine Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the Chair appoints as members of the funeral committee the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. Davis of Tennessee, Mr. Murray, Mr. Evins, Mr. Baker, Mr. Bass, Mr. Everett, Mr. Brock, Mr. Fulton of Tennessee, and Mr. Quillen.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the remainder of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 48 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, August 13, 1963, at 12 o'clock noon.

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I announce the death of the senior Senator from Tennessee, Senator KEFAUVER.

Many of us had the privilege of serving with him when he came to the House of Representatives in the 76th Congress. He remained in this body almost 10 years, having been re-elected through the 80th Congress. In November 1948 he ran successfully for the other body. He ran a second time in 1954 and a third time in 1960. All of us remember him as one of the hardest working and certainly one of the most intelligent Members who has ever served in the House of Representatives. Senator KEFAUVER was a kind man. If you found yourself opposing him politically on an issue, he never entertained any bitterness. Many in this House will remember him as the Democratic nominee for Vice President in 1956. Still others will remember him campaigning in the snow in New Hampshire in a primary. Still others will remember him as the real champion of small business and of the small "average man," if I may use that expression. Indeed, this man was capable and kind and industrious. Still others of us will remember him as the one man who did more to alert this country on the cost and danger of crime. Still others more recently will remember him as one who sought to hold down as low as possible the cost of medical drugs. He has endeared himself to literally hundreds of thousands of the elderly people in this country.

Mr. Speaker, I could go along and talk at great length about this man. I was glad to be his friend as so many of you are to claim his friendship. But I am sure that all of us in this House will remember him for the few things that I have mentioned, but particularly we will remember him for his vigorous advocacy of issues.

Whether you agreed with him at all times politically, or on an issue, or not, you will have to admit that you always knew exactly where he stood. When he gave his word, that word was his bond. So, then, to his wife, Nancy, and the children and to his sisters, we offer our expression of love, and we extend to them the hand of helpfulness should we ever find ourselves capable of rendering unto them that ESTES would render unto our very own.

So, we are missing a colleague, and the State of Tennessee will miss an outstanding public servant and, yes, the country as a whole will miss him for all times as a dedicated Member of the legislative body of this great country of ours.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join my distinguished friend from Tennessee in this expression of sorrow over the death of a great American and former distinguished Member of the House. ESTES KEFAUVER was a Member of this body when I came here. Although still a young man, he had already served several terms and had impressed his colleagues and the Nation with the fine qualities of mind and character which have typified his entire public service. He was a man of strength and will. He was calm but always resolute; kind but unyielding in his opposition to vested privilege; considerate and protective of the weak but a powerful aggressor against those who would exploit or abuse them.

Senator KEFAUVER was a man of independent stamp—a strong man in the mold of Andrew Jackson and other courageous Tennesseans whose dedication to their public trust is historic.

He was a foe of monopoly; a friend of freedom.

He was indeed one of the great figures of this generation.

We shall all miss him. We extend our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and her children.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I was certainly among those deeply shocked and dismayed by the news that our former colleague in this body, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, had been fatally stricken on Saturday last. My friendship with him goes back something more than 20 years, when we were members together on the Select Committee on Small Business, reference to which committee the gentleman from Tennessee has just made. This committee was formed during the 77th Congress to lend what help we could to small business people who were understandably confused and frustrated by the mass of rules, regulations, and restrictions imposed upon them because of the war emergency.

I was an original member of that first select committee in 1941. The record indicates our former colleague, the late Senator from Tennessee, joined the committee during the 78th Congress. Well do I recall having traveled with the gentleman from Tennessee on investigating trips around the country. Then I was struck with his warm friendliness, a trait which carried with him throughout all of his life. I was also struck by his real and deep concern for the people who were then appearing before our committee.

May I say that no member of the committee was more solicitous of the problems of small business people than ESTES KEFAUVER. And he carried that solicitude with him all through his career.

Later on it was the pleasure of my family to be neighbors of the Kefauvers in Northwest Washington where we came to know ESTES and Nancy and their fine children even better.

So, I offer the survivors my deepest sympathies in their most untimely bereavement.

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as you all are aware, a former Member of this great body, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, died this past Saturday.

His death was a great shock to those of us who knew and admired him. He will be sorely missed and his passing leaves a void which will be difficult to fill.

It would be difficult to put into words just what ESTES KEFAUVER meant to the people of Tennessee, and I will not attempt to do so except to say he was admired and loved by many, respected by all.

The pages of this Nation's history echo with the names of great Tennesseans such as Jackson, Johnson, Hull, and Crockett. The name KEFAUVER now joins this proud assemblage of men who served their country with honor and devotion.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, I am shocked and grieved to hear of the passing of Senator KEFAUVER. ESTES and I first became friends at the University of Tennessee in 1919. We were closely associated for 4 years at the university, and we continued to be friends for the remainder of his life.

While we differed on many national issues and in politics, it never disrupted our personal regard for each other.

In my first race for Congress in 1950, one of ESTES' close friends and political allies was my Democratic opponent. ESTES did everything he could to help his friend in the campaign. The race was tough and hard fought.

I won, and on the first day that I occupied my congressional office in the Old House Office Building, just after I had unlocked the door and before I had taken the oath of office, my first visitor was none other than ESTES KEFAUVER, who sauntered into the office in his familiarly casual manner, signed my guestbook, and visited with me for over half an hour.

He told me that he did his dead level best to defeat me, but he would not now let that interfere with our personal friendship and that he would cooperate with me in any way he could for our mutual interests.

That easy, friendly nature was symbolic of him.

Senator KEFAUVER, during more than 25 years of public life, carved for himself a niche in the history of Tennessee, the Nation, and the world which is unique. He firmly supported his convictions, even when they seemed contrary to

the views of the majority. He was never adamant and would always listen to reason. He was an indefatigable worker.

One of his finest traits was that he never made any distinction between political opponents and supporters in rendering services and performing the duties of his high office as the Senator from Tennessee.

My deepest sympathy is extended to his wife, Nancy, and their children.

Mr. BASS. Speaker, it is with a feeling of heartfelt grief that I address remarks to you in memory of my close friend and colleague, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, whose untimely death Saturday has saddened us all.

The senior Senator from Tennessee, known throughout the country for his warm smile and handshake, was indeed a friend of the people. He was a crusader in the true sense of the word and his efforts for better government were untiring, and his record of achievements is an exemplary one. During his 9 years in this body and his nearly 15 years in the Senate, he devoted his boundless energies and talents to making our country a greater one for all people from all walks of life; and his record as a legislator speaks for itself. His devotion to duty is evidenced by the fact that he literally worked right up to the time of his death, as he left the Senate floor Thursday night, because of the heart condition that claimed his great life much too soon.

Senator KEFAUVER was truly one of the great men of our times—a great Tennessean and a great American. His many outstanding contributions to his country will certainly be recorded in history. His abilities, talents, and dedicated public service will be sorely missed and the void he leaves will be most difficult to fill.

I personally will miss the Senator, not only as a guide and mentor, but as a true, warm friend. His lovely widow, Nancy, and my wife, Avanell, are the closest of friends, who enjoy a wonderful relationship. Our association with the Kefauver

family has been a truly heartwarming experience, and our hearts go out to Nancy and her children at this time—we only wish we could ease their burden of grief for them.

Mr. EVERETT. Mr. Speaker, we have certainly suffered a great loss in this Nation and in the State of Tennessee in the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

Senator KEFAUVER was most helpful and most cooperative in any endeavor to help us all with the problems that we have in representing our people.

He was a great humanitarian and honest with his constituents.

We shall miss him.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, the news of Senator KEFAUVER's passing is saddening to me, as it is to the hearts of the people of Tennessee, the Nation, and the world. Senator KEFAUVER loved people, and his warm friendly manner clearly expressed his dedication as a public servant and his devotion to the cause of others.

He personally created the KEFAUVER era of politics in Tennessee. Gone is the man in the coonskin cap and the friendly handshake and winning personality, but he will long be remembered as will the era he created.

He was a man of courage and conviction—a great American and a great statesman. He was always willing and ready to help with the problems of the people.

I extend my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and family in their great loss. In your affliction, may the knowledge that your friends share your sorrow be a comfort to you.

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the late senior Senator of Tennessee, ESTES KEFAUVER, whose untimely passing shocked and saddened the Nation.

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

ESTES KEFAUVER was not only known and beloved in Tennessee, but he was a major national figure whose coonskin cap and handshake became a legend of American politics during his time. He was a tower of strength and conviction—a tall and sturdy oak, often the victim of the storm but never uprooted and always firm in his convictions. He will be sorely missed by his many friends in Tennessee, the Nation, and the world.

I was privileged to serve with ESTES KEFAUVER during one term in the House—during the years he was campaigning against great odds for the Senate. I often kidded ESTES that I did not get to see very much of him during those first 2 years because he was necessarily in Tennessee so frequently. I did see him often after his election to the Senate, both socially and otherwise, and was pleased to cooperate with him in working for many important projects for Tennessee and the Nation.

Many throughout the Nation knew Senator KEFAUVER as a persistent investigator or as a tireless campaigner. This was certainly a part of ESTES KEFAUVER, but I also was privileged to know him as a friend and as a tireless plugger for legislation and projects in which he believed, including minor projects as well as major ones which he believed important.

No Tennessean since Andrew Jackson has drawn more enthusiastic support and devotion from the common man than ESTES KEFAUVER. He made an impact on Tennessee. He is assured of an important role in history along with other Tennesseans, such as Jackson, Polk, Johnson, and Cordell Hull. His contributions were vast and varied.

A smalltown boy who became a great Senator, ESTES KEFAUVER mastered one of the Nation's most complex occupations, was a mixture of simplicity and greatness. He hid a true egghead under his coonskin cap. He was a foe of all who tried to grow rich at the expense of the American people; whether a gangster, a corrupt politician, or a greedy monopolist. He championed the public interest.

Tennessee, the Nation, and the world share in the loss of this distinguished Senator and public servant.

I extend an expression of my sincere sympathy to his wonderful wife Nancy and their four fine children in their bereavement.

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER has left an indelible mark on the history of our time. His courage in facing the issues, his determination to voice his convictions will furnish a continuing example to those who are to follow.

Our families have been friends for many years, and I consider his loss a personal one.

Without apology, we differed on matters of political philosophy, yet it was a difference based on respect. His warm friendliness, soft voice, and pleasant manner were basic to the character of this man who was truly interested in his fellow man.

Such personal gentleness, however, hid a determined spirit and a resolute will. Working constantly, ESTES KEFAUVER enjoyed engaging the toughest opposition, whether they be political bosses, captains of industry, or leaders of organized crime.

Excelling in courage and resolute in completing his task, ESTES KEFAUVER never lost the rugged independence and individualism which is so characteristic of the great people of Tennessee.

Though none can ease the loss to Nancy and his children, we may only share their sorrow and say that we will miss him too.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, the totally unexpected and sudden passing of our good friend, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, was a blow to our country and to all our fellow citizens.

Mr. Speaker, to those of us who, like my wife and myself, had the privilege of his friendship, it was a saddening event which will linger with us for all time.

I was fortunate enough to have the friendship of Senator KEFAUVER prior to the time he first became a candidate for the Presidency of the United States and I had the privilege of seconding his nomination at the 1952 convention and again to second his nomination for Vice President in 1956.

But, Mr. Speaker, it was not in the political contacts that I think our great esteem, friendship, and affection for him has lived and has flowered, but rather it was in his personality, the personality of a man whom one felt was so human, so completely rugged and honest that one can hardly believe today he is no longer with us.

So on behalf of my wife and the rest of my family I would like to extend to his lovely wife, Nancy, to his children and to all members of his family, the hope that they will know that his, ESTES', friends will never forget him. Echoing the eloquent words of the dean of the Tennessee delegation, who is now in the well of the House, we would like to join with him in the hope that perhaps we can do something to comfort them, and make their grief a little less severe.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, it is impossible to describe the deep sense of shock that I experienced when I heard on the radio Saturday at noon of the passing of my good friend and colleague, Senator KEFAUVER. I think I can say that the State of Ohio will feel a deep sense of sadness at his passing because I was one of those who managed his campaign for President in 1952 in Ohio when he overwhelmingly won the at-large delegation and every district delegation in which there was a contest.

He has campaigned in my district from one end to the other, not for himself but for me. He was willing to come at any time, no matter how inconvenient. I recall one occasion when he flew from Tennessee to make a speech for me, and then went on to Chicago the same night where he was due at a breakfast meeting the next morning.

There is little one can say at a time like this except to express deep sympathy to his family. I would say that to me one of the editorials in a Washington newspaper in summing up said about as much as anybody could say about this man. It stated:

> The Senate will miss him, his State will miss him, and the country will miss him, because the Senate had too few like him.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, like my colleagues, I, too, was shocked at the passing of Senator KEFAUVER. There are too few Senator KEFAUVERS in this world and in this Congress. Senator KEFAUVER was dedicated to the little people of the country, the common man. The interest of the common man was always the interest that he put first. The good that he has done and the good that he has accomplished will long remain after most of us who served with him are forgotten.

I extend my sympathies to his wife and children. May I say that I personally have lost a great and good friend whose friendship I valued.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I join our colleagues in this solemn moment of grieving the untimely passing of a great and distinguished American. As has been said, he was well known from one end of this country to the other. He was no stranger to my State of New York, where he was known and loved as a kindly gentleman who sought to help all those who needed assistance. His one endeavor throughout his service was to improve the operation of our Government for the benefit of all.

We extend to his family our very heartfelt sympathy on this very grievous loss, and I offer the prayer that his memory may be for a blessing forever.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in expressing my profound shock at the passing of Senator KEFAUVER. Senator KEFAUVER was a close personal friend of mine. The very fact that I have been privileged to be a Member of this distinguished body in large measure is due to the work of Senator KEFAUVER back in 1954. I did work in California as a member of his campaign committee in the 1956 campaign which he conducted in the primary for the endorsement as nominee for President. On that committee it was my privilege and pleasure to accompany him many times, and I feel he probably had the greatest personal magnetism of any man it has ever been my privilege to know. I have said many times that had he been able to shake hands with each person in the United States, he could have been overwhelmingly elected President of this country. Certainly, his passing will be a great loss not only to the Congress of the United States but to his Nation. I take this opportunity, Mr. Speaker, to extend my regrets and sorrow and sympathy to his family and those he leaves behind.

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep sorrow that I join my colleagues in mourning the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. His death at the age of 60 is a tremendous loss to the other body and to the Nation as well. Few men in our time have moved so many Americans. This man, Mr. Speaker, had charisma and beyond his great appeal to the American people he always demonstrated a feeling for the rights of others. He was always with the underdog and the millions of people who loved him also mourn his passing. It was not easy for him to fight for Negroes, and he no doubt was severely maligned by the South that he loved so well. This Tennessean, Mr. Speaker, was a great American. He will be sorely missed. I want to extend my sympathy to his wife and family at this moment of bereavement.

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, I join the Members of the House in expressing my deep sorrow on the passing of my friend and colleague, Senator KEFAUVER. ESTES and I came to the Congress in the 76th Congress, and I learned to like him very much during the 9 years he was in the House. I disagreed with ESTES on numerous occasions, but he was one of our great statesmen who could disagree on issues without being disagreeable. I considered ESTES as one of my closest personal friends and called on him for his views on numerous bills pending before the Congress. I first learned to respect ESTES KEFAUVER when I played football against him when he was an all-eastern tackle at the University of Tennessee. I learned to respect his legal ability and his legislative ability during our freshman year in the 76th Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I express my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and the other members of his lovely family.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply shocked and saddened when I heard of the untimely passing of our former colleague, the distinguished Senator from Tennessee, ESTES KEFAUVER. I extend my sincere sympathy to our colleagues from the State of Tennessee on the great loss which they have sustained.

Senator KEFAUVER was a Member of this House when I first came to Congress. Our offices were on the same floor and we had many pleasant visits. We formed a friendship at that time which has endured over the years. I greatly valued this friendship and always enjoyed a visit with the Senator. I had great respect for his ability and capacity as a legislator.

Senator KEFAUVER was a frequent visitor to Colorado, and he had many friends in our State. I recall that when he was a candidate for President he had substantial support from the Democrats of Colorado.

Senator KEFAUVER made a most substantial contribution to legislation in many fields. I did not always agree with his views, but I recognized his sincerity and his devotion to the

causes which he championed. He made an impression upon this political era which I am sure historians will recognize and record.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my sincere sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and the other members of the family.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman's yielding to me so that I might join with my colleagues to express my sorrow and regret on the passing of the late Senator from Tennessee, ESTES KEFAUVER. I had the privilege of knowing Senator KEFAUVER during his second term as a Member of this body when I served here as a secretary to one of his colleagues. He was then a distinguished junior member of the House Committee on the Judiciary. I had the privilege of coming to know him even more fully during his campaigns for the office of President of the United States. He was a distinguished and an able Member of this body and of the other body.

Mr. Speaker, many of the press accounts have referred to Senator KEFAUVER as a loner, and I think, perhaps, in a very real way this term does symbolize some of his tremendous personal courage and his dogged persistence and determination. Many of the positions he took and the objectives he sought were pursued against great odds and in the face of tremendous obstacles; yet ESTES KEFAUVER never flinched, never gave up, and never lost his gracious courtesy and good manners.

I think particularly of his great fight against racketeering and corruption around the country. He never had any concern for his personal safety in all that he did; he never even displayed any great concern for his own political future. But in his quiet and always courteous way he steadfastly pursued the course which he had set for himself, and the people in his home State of Tennessee repeatedly returned him to public office.

Mr. Speaker, as a former mayor I want to say that I believe ESTES KEFAUVER opened up the eyes of the whole Nation,

as no one else had ever done, about the extent of gambling and corruption, and years later we have now moved to deal more effectively with the insidious damage caused by interstate crime.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a real man of the people. It was often said of him that everyone was against him but the voters. He proved he held a warm spot in their hearts. He may have never been permitted to enter the so-called "club" that allegedly runs the other body, but he was very much in the hearts of the people he served.

It will be a long, long time before we will be able to fill the shoes of ESTES KEFAUVER. I wish to join with the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Davis], in extending the deep sympathy of Mrs. Stratton and myself to Mrs. Kefauver and their children.

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sad and heavy heart that I join the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Davis] and my other colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of ESTES KEFAUVER, a great and gallant American.

The Nation has lost a dedicated and courageous leader who fought fearlessly for the people of America. As the scourge of racketeers and the underworld, the crusader against corruption in government and politics, the champion of the consumer, ESTES KEFAUVER will long be remembered. He understood and articulated the economic evils of monopoly power. It was typical of him that his last fight in the Senate last Thursday was to amend the NASA authorization bill to require reimbursement to the taxpayers of America for research and development which would inure to the benefit of the private Communications Satellite Corp.

Mr. Speaker, ESTES KEFAUVER, a warm and friendly figure, stirred the hearts of his countrymen as he campaigned for the Presidency. Who will forget his trudging through the snows of New Hampshire in his coonskin hat?

And he stirred the conscience of his countrymen when he refused to sign the southern manifesto. He consistently and courageously took a national point of view.

I valued the friendship of ESTES KEFAUVER and was privileged to work with him on legislation and for causes in which we had a mutual interest. I admired and respected the man for his integrity, his humility, and his philosophy.

Mr. Speaker, it has been correctly said this morning that a large void has been left. How true. Senator KEFAUVER was a giant in the Congress who made an incalculable contribution to his Nation. He was more than the senior Senator from Tennessee. He was a Senator for all Americans. It will be a long time before we see his like again.

I extend my deepest sympathy to the widow and children of ESTES KEFAUVER.

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER's untimely death is a great loss to the liberal and progressive forces in the Congress. The Nation has lost one of its most distinguished and outstanding statesmen. Along with President Andrew Jackson he will go down in history as one of the great champions of the common people and most prominent political figures from Tennessee.

It is difficult to think of anyone in our history who possessed a greater sense of dedication and political courage. He was a man of vision, great ability, with high ideals and principles, who never faltered in his fight for social and economic justice and for the aged and less fortunate of our people.

Since my coming to Congress in 1949, it was my pleasure and great privilege to be closely associated with Senator KEFAUVER and to enjoy his cooperation and warm friendship. I was the first Member of Congress to publicly announce support for KEFAUVER in his 1952 presidential campaign.

Senator KEFAUVER was respected because of his integrity and sincerity. He never lost the common touch. He was also a foe of big business monopoly and a friend of small

business. It was his stand for legislation to help the underprivileged, the aged, and the needy that made him the target of attack by big money interests as well as crime syndicates.

History will be more kind to Senator ESTES KEFAUVER when the objectives he sought are realized as the Nation progresses and moves forward to a better tomorrow.

The death of Senator KEFAUVER leaves a serious gap in Congress that will be difficult to fill. To me it means the loss of one of my closest and dearest friends.

Mrs. Rhodes joins me in expressing deep and profound sympathy to his lovely wife, Nancy, and their children.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the late Senator KEFAUVER was well known and well beloved in my district.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress and the Nation have suffered a great loss in the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. His life was one of continuous striving and accomplishment for the people of Tennessee and of the United States. He combined a fearless independence of special interests with deep ties to the great body of the people.

As a Representative and a Senator, ESTES KEFAUVER served in 13 Congresses. During this time he made many contributions to our society through his legislative and investigatory activities. For these, he will be long and highly honored.

But he also made another great contribution to our democratic system by his style of campaigning, by getting out and seeing the voters, by hearing their stories and letting them see him and hear his request for their vote in person. There was no trace of insincerity and affectation in this; it was natural and honest with him. His personal campaigning was a great benefit to the electorate which consistently responded with its favor.

Senator KEFAUVER was familiar to the voters of my own State of Wisconsin where he successfully campaigned in his indefatigable way in two presidential primaries and on be-

half of many Democratic candidates. In this impersonal age of mass communication, Senator KEFAUVER has inspired a new generation of politicians to work early and late keeping in personal touch with the voters, and democracy in America is the beneficiary.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, my sense of shock and disbelief resulting from the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER refuses to subside. I still remember the many times he, my husband, and I met for breakfast in the old House cafeteria when the Senator and my husband were colleagues in the House of Representatives and the gentleman from Tennessee was already demonstrating great ability in the conduct of congressional investigations as a member of the House Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Speaker, the Nation has lost in the death of Senator KEFAUVER one of the most courageous fighters for consumer issues we have ever had. I have always been flattered that Senator KEFAUVER introduced in the Senate some of the bills which I had originated in the House, particularly my original food stamp bill which he strongly supported and helped enact into law. Among many great monuments to his legislative career is the far-reaching Drug Control Act which he wrote into law last year following the disclosure of America's narrow escape from the tragedy of birth defects from thalidomide.

The only reason the Congress was able to act with such remarkable speed in writing such a complex piece of legislation into law was that Senator KEFAUVER, in his capacity as chairman of the Subcommittee on Monopoly and Antitrust of the Senate Judiciary Committee, had already conducted long and painstaking hearings into every aspect of drug industry operations. Even though the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act is not normally within the jurisdiction of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator KEFAUVER's magnificent investigative work in the drug field prior to last year made it possible for his subcommittee to handle the drug

bill quickly in cooperation with the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

The Drug Control Act may not be completely perfect legislation; there may be problems in connection with its operation and administration. But considering the speed with which it was enacted and the scope of its coverage, it is one of the most impressive enactments of the Congress in its field—and that goes back to the original Pure Food Act of 1906, and the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938.

Mr. Speaker, Senator KEFAUVER was best known to the public as crime fighter, presidential candidate, vice presidential nominee, and in other dramatic roles. But whether or not they agreed with him on most things, Members of Congress looked upon him primarily as a quietly determined, conscientious, hard-working, indefatigable searcher and prober of facts in the complex maze of legislative issues. And out of this digging and searching, he presented a solid case for the legislation he supported, or solid evidence against legislation he opposed.

Almost always the consumer was the beneficiary of his efforts. He was of the antimonopoly mold of an O'Mahoney or of our own Wright Patman—utterly courageous in fighting for decency in American economics.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, I am particularly conscious of the loss all consumers have now suffered. My deepest sympathy goes to Senator KEFAUVER'S family.

Mr. WHITENER. Mr. Speaker, the American people, and particularly the citizens of the great State of Tennessee, have sustained a tragic loss in the untimely death of ESTES KEFAUVER.

I feel very keenly the death of this distinguished Senator as I have known and admired his character, ability, and devotion to duty for many years. I have visited in his home, and I have observed him on the floor of the Senate. Regard-

less of whether he was at home or in the Senate, ESTES KEFAUVER was always a very warmhearted and friendly individual.

Although I sometimes had different views from those he possessed on matters of national interest, I always respected his position as I knew he was laboring for what he felt to be in the best interest of the people of his State and of his country.

The silent hand of death has removed from our midst a man of great stature and of dedicated purpose. In his passing the people of his State have lost a devoted friend and one of the greatest Senators of this age.

Mrs. Whitener and I extend to the members of his family our sincere condolences and our deep sympathy on the great loss which they have sustained.

Mr. LIBONATI. Mr. Speaker, the Senate has lost one of its most picturesque and ablest Members, in the passing of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

His influence in the Senate was acquired by attacking powerful interests in a series of investigations in the public interest. His forages into the operation of steel, drug, and food syndicates, in violation of antitrust and price fixing, gained for him the sobriquet "Champion of the Common People." His popularity won for him, in convention, the endorsement of the Democratic Party for the Vice Presidency in 1956, teamed with Adlai Stevenson.

As a successful corporation lawyer, his acquired talents in dealing with corporative operations gave him a tremendous impetus in prying into their affairs and illegal practices. His practical understanding of their problems and the circumvention of the laws, made his position unassailable. His judgment in these matters was respected. In crucial matters considered in debate, he was always prepared, giving facts and information to sustain his position. He was thorough in his preparation of his material—a result of hard study and laborious research. He was firm in standing by the

principles he believed in. No one could swerve him from his course. It was this strong characteristic that antagonized some of his colleagues. His spear knew no brother.

If he set out on a plan of action he persisted to act without fear or favor toward anyone or any group. Like a courageous crusader he pursued, in the crime investigations, every facet of its activities. Millions of Americans viewed these televised hearings, in which he showed charm and a definite professional flair for a theatrical performance. He became a popular hero in this role, receiving public acclaim which later resulted in his selection on the 1956 Democratic ticket.

He hung crepe after crepe upon the political careers of many politicians throughout the Nation and wrecked the State and Cook County ticket in Illinois, contributing to the retirement of many of my friends among whom was the popular majority leader of the Senate, Scott Lucas, of Illinois.

His victorious bid for the Vice Presidency nomination undoubtedly prolonged the political career of President Kennedy. It is for historians and political philosophers to record the importance of this contribution to the posterity of the Nation.

His stand for civil rights and in support of the U.S. Supreme Court on segregated schools—remaining aloof from filibusters and southern caucuses, marks him as a courageous, powerfully firm and unselfish individual, placing belief in principle above the loss of prestige among his sectional colleagues, and risking political reverberations.

It can be truly said that Senator KEFAUVER owed his success to tackling big problems of national impact, and fought against great odds to make even a dent in the armour of the mighty—but no one can deny—he was honest in his efforts to legislate reforms.

He was one of the few who was able to realize the benefits of his work, but he actually did do the work; others are not as fortunate.

He was not a strategist or diplomat or orator; but he was a great statesman, a rare type to be sure, but, as a modern pioneer, he labored in a field of legislative activity that re-

quired brains, iron will, nerves of steel, and the courage of the backwoodsman.

The Illinois delegation joins with its colleagues from the State of Tennessee in respecting the memory of the distinguished Senator and former colleague of the House, ESTES KEFAUVER. To his lovely wife, Nancy, a political campaigner in her own right, and his darling children, Eleanore, Diane, David, and Gail, we extend our heartfelt condolences on their great loss and join them in our prayers.

The State of Tennessee and the Nation have lost a statesman of action, a true gladiator of the drawn sword, fighting in behalf of the "man on the street"—and again, on occasions, he wielded a heavily spiked—with truth—battleax, to smash his own way against the powerful, unyielding trusts.

He held the friendship, confidence, and admiration of the masses. May God bless him for his fortitude and honesty of purpose in carrying out his stewardship. To him a public office was a public trust. I dedicate the following lines to his memory:

He stood alone upon the Hill
With coonskin cap and rifle still
Awaiting varmints to appear,
His deadly aim engendered fear.

He cared not for friend or foe
If, in his path, they sought to throw
A hostile weight against his plan
To safeguard justice in the land.

This man of courage seemed to know
That he must measure every blow
To win the public to his stand,
In fighting for the common man.

The doubters say he played a game,
To add more luster to his name.
But God knows he played it square,
His greatness is in the Nation's care.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the untimely death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER has deprived this Nation of a leader of the highest integrity, honor, and ability. He was a cou-

rageous and tenacious fighter for the ideals in which he believed. He was never too busy to aid in righting a wrong.

The people of my State have lost a great friend, for when Hawaii was not yet a full-fledged member of the Union, Senator KEFAUVER was often referred to with the term of endearment, "the Senator from Hawaii." It was he to whom many of us addressed our problems; and he gave us unstintingly of his time and services, just as if we had been his valued voting constituents. This is a mark of greatness to which not too many Members of Congress can lay claim.

Mr. Speaker, men like Senator KEFAUVER come too few and far between. Humanity has indeed suffered an immeasurable loss. As Hawaii's Representative and as one who enjoyed the benefits of his personal services, I wish to associate myself with those who have paid tribute to that great American and humanitarian, ESTES KEFAUVER, and express my deepest sympathy and condolences to Mrs. Kefauver and the family.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, it was indeed a deep shock to learn of the unexpected death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. He was, without doubt, one of the ablest Members of the other body.

Senator KEFAUVER, because of his two campaigns for the presidential nomination, became a familiar figure in my home State of Wisconsin. He won the State's Democratic primary in 1952 and ran unopposed in 1956.

The coonskin cap, for which Senator KEFAUVER became famous, was in evidence during his 1952 campaign when he stumped the State, shaking hands. In 1956 he again campaigned actively, continuing his tireless handshaking.

The Senator's vigorous campaign methods made a lasting impression on Wisconsin's politicians. His theory that personal contact with voters is still vital even in an age of mass communications has been adopted by a number of Wisconsin's successful votegetters.

Senator KEFAUVER campaigned for other Democrats in Wisconsin as well as on his own behalf. He has always been a favorite figure in the State, with his homespun air and open friendliness.

His last appearance in Wisconsin was last January when he spoke at a luncheon of the Wisconsin Division of the Independent Bankers Association. There is no doubt that this outstanding politician and statesman of our time will be missed by the people of Wisconsin, as well as by those of his native Tennessee.

My wife joins me in expressing our sincerest sympathy to Mrs. Kefauver and the family. Surely, their consolation lies in the knowledge that the Senator had served Tennessee and his country fully and well.

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, along with millions of other Americans, I was profoundly shocked and grieved to learn of the death of the distinguished Senator from Tennessee, CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER. The Congress has lost one of its most vigorous and effective Members.

It has been my privilege to regard the late Senator as a personal friend from the very first day he came to the House of Representatives to succeed Congressman Sam D. McReynolds in September of 1939. For 10 years we were neighbors in the House Office Building and with each year I came to know and admire him more. His service in the Senate since the beginning of the 81st Congress has been outstanding, and there are few people in the United States today who would have failed to recognize him if they met him by chance.

His vigorous and unrelenting investigations of organized crime and his later studies of monopolistic practices were carried on in behalf of the American people with a high degree of unselfish sacrifice on his part. He would undoubtedly be with us today if he had not spent so much of himself in these pursuits. His warmth of personality and his soft-spoken approach endeared him to all who knew him in person or by means of radio and television.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in extending sincere condolences to the fine family of the late Senator. He will be sorely missed.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sorrow that I learned of the death of our esteemed colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. I join my fellow Members of Congress in expressing to his wife and children my deepest sympathy at this time.

Senator KEFAUVER was one of the great men of the age. His contribution to legislation while he represented the State of Tennessee stands glowingly in the record. His persistent and untiring efforts in behalf of individual rights will long be remembered and are a tribute to his strength of character. He will be missed not only by us who were his personal friends, but by his State and the Nation. I pray that his family will be granted God's choicest blessings to bear this cross.

Mr. HAGEN of California. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of ESTES KEFAUVER, this Congress, this Nation, and the State of Tennessee have suffered an immeasurable loss.

ESTES KEFAUVER will go down in history as one of the truly great statesmen of this century. His dedication to principle, his integrity, his insight and compassion, and his ever-present drive to serve his fellow man won him the respect and admiration of millions of Americans and of men of good will throughout the world.

His fight against organized crime, against corruption, and against the exploitation of the weak made him as well known and as highly esteemed in my own State of California as he was among his constituents in Tennessee.

We are all, I think, a little poorer today because the tall figure, the gentle smile, and the warm handclasp of ESTES KEFAUVER are gone.

Our deepest sympathy goes to his widow and children and to the people of Tennessee whose bereavement is even greater than our own.

Mr. HEMPHILL. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues here in the U.S. House of Representatives and in the Senate, and millions of Americans and people from other countries in lamenting the untimely death of our late and beloved friend ESTES KEFAUVER. I did not have the privilege of knowing him intimately, but was thrown with him on many occasions, and even when I was a first-year Congressman, noted with considerable appreciation and gratitude that he always had a ready smile, outstretched hand, and could readily call your name.

Senator KEFAUVER was a man of superlatives. Not only was he the kind of man you would speak of in terms as "the hardest worker," "the most dedicated," and in other terms of appreciation of his fine qualities and aggressiveness in those tasks to which he thought duty called him, but he was a superlative in the fact of humility, simplicity, and personality. Everybody knew to call him ESTES because he did not want it any other way. He always had time for anybody who wanted to see him and talk to him, and while many did not agree with him, I never heard any man say he was not a man of ability, or question his dedication and integrity.

This Nation, his State, and millions of people are better today because he lived and served. I join his legion of admirers in expressing to Mrs. Kefauver and family, for myself and my family, our deepest sympathy.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the people of Illinois join the people of Tennessee and the rest of the Nation in mourning the loss of a great American statesman, ESTES KEFAUVER.

A brave voice has been silenced by the untimely death of Senator KEFAUVER. In his fearless effort to uncover those who would abuse democracy, Senator KEFAUVER carved for himself an indelible page in America's history of her great sons.

He would yield to neither conformity nor even tradition whenever he felt that a great cause for human dignity was being abused by vested interests. His struggle against the

monopolies is a matter of record. His daring in exposing the crime syndicate of America gave this Nation new hope that indeed the criminal elements of this Nation could be curbed.

Throughout America there are millions of families who have found new hope, new comfort, a new means of existence from the earnings of the family's breadwinner which, prior to Senator KEFAUVER's spectacular crime investigation, had too often been siphoned off by the gambling syndicate.

Senator KEFAUVER was an outspoken foe of conformity. His epitaph should read: "He dared to be different."

Mrs. Pucinski and I, and indeed all of the people of my district, extend to Senator KEFAUVER's wife, Nancy, and his daughters our deepest sympathy in their moment of grief.

Senator KEFAUVER will be missed.

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the loss of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER will be deeply felt by all of us in the Congress, by the State of Tennessee, by the Nation and, indeed, by the world.

Senator KEFAUVER was an idealist, a fighter, a humanitarian, and most of all a great American. He espoused a cause, not for its popularity, or political mileage, but for its benefit to our Nation and to mankind.

Throughout his 24 years in the Congress—9 years in the House and 15 years in the Senate—Senator KEFAUVER never shied from a cause he felt was right. His concern was for the underdog, for the common man.

His work in exposing the crime syndicate during the early 1950's, while chairing a Senate subcommittee investigating crime, was a great service to our country, as were his later committee probes including his investigations of corruption in boxing and misleading advertising.

His work in the field of drug regulation shows another facet of the Senator's greatness—his refusal to give up. He pursued the investigation and pushed for legislation in

the face of Senate apathy and his action was proved justified when the need for new laws in this field became evident during the Thalidomide scare.

Mr. Speaker, Senator KEFAUVER's untimely death deeply grieves us all. I join with my colleagues in expressing our sympathies to his wife and family.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, no one can deny that the death of ESTES KEFAUVER left the country and Congress poorer. As for me, I lost not only a friend but also a man to whom I was joined in a common politic and economic philosophy.

We had joined together as sponsor of considerable antitrust legislation, including the drug bill, and together we had fought through to a successful conclusion the enactment of the Celler-Kefauver Act and the civil investigative demand legislation both highly significant in the strengthening of our antitrust laws. Both of us shared the conviction that our economy to be free, competitive, and strong, must look to the antitrust laws, and their importance, to sustain that ideal. We both felt that economic concentration was an economic evil that had to be fought and resisted.

Behind the soft voice and gentle manner of ESTES KEFAUVER, lay immeasurable strength. He was not afraid to tackle the big job, to take on the giants of industry, or the masters of crime. He did it without bluster, without threat, and without arrogance.

When we served together on the Committee on the Judiciary of the House, I soon recognized in him the intellectual strength combined with a gentleness that made him unique. Listening to ESTES then, it would have been difficult to predict that he could capture the hearts of millions of our people—so withdrawn and so reticent did he, at times, appear. I write out of a sense of deep personal loss. I will not find his like again.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, for many years I enjoyed the friendship of our distinguished and beloved colleague, ESTES KEFAUVER. Last Saturday, in the golden hours of his great life, his soul slipped through the curtain of stars to the place we call "the Great Unknown." He has gone to the other side of the Crystal Sea where he will receive the full reward which his strong faith has purchased.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a brave and a courageous man. By his intelligent devotion to duty, his unswerving fidelity to truth, his great integrity, and by the honest and courageous manner in which he discharged all of the vital functions of his high office, he distinguished himself in the service of his country and endeared himself to all of his colleagues in Congress. The State of Tennessee has lost one of its best loved sons. America has lost one of its great citizens, and I have lost a good friend.

I served with ESTES KEFAUVER in the House of Representatives for many years. I have traveled with him into far distant places of the earth. He was a loyal and devoted member of the Interparliamentary Union and was a real ambassador for America in all of his travels. Wherever he went, ESTES KEFAUVER made a thoroughfare for friendship.

To his lovely wife, Nancy, to his children, and to all the members of his family, I extend my warm and sincere sympathy and express the hope that the love and sympathy of his friends will soften the sorrow they are now bearing. May the Lord of mercy bless and sustain them in their great bereavement.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER was one of America's greatest statesmen. I knew Senator KEFAUVER from the time he came to the Congress. In fact, as the minority leader [Mr. Halleck] said this morning, he served on the Select Committee on Small Business when he first came here, a committee that I had the honor to be the chairman. Representative KEFAUVER was made chairman of a subcommittee and by reason of that chairmanship he com-

menced immediately to make a good name for himself. He conducted hearings over a period of time. The testimony was printed in the book of hearings.

Even now the Select Committee on Small Business receives requests for that particular volume on monopoly; it was so impressive, so good.

Senator KEFAUVER was always for the little man, the small businessman, the underdog. He was not against big business. He was always insisting that all business must be fair to their customers and among themselves, that they must not do anything that would cause unfair practices in business and that all unfair practices should be stopped.

Senator KEFAUVER was one of the most courageous men I ever knew. He would take sides oftentimes when it was unpopular for him to do so. Very few men in public life will do things that Senator KEFAUVER was anxious to do always in the public interest.

Senator KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, was the kind of citizen that Thomas Jefferson must have envisaged at the inception of our great adventure in American democracy. Senator KEFAUVER was born in Monroe County, Tenn., in 1903. This Nation's new experiment in community self-government and individual freedom was then slightly over 100 years old and ESTES KEFAUVER was its product.

As a boy, young ESTES received his education in the Monroe County public schools; received his A.B. degree at the University of Tennessee in 1924; his LL.B. degree at Yale University in 1927. Later numerous honorary degrees were fittingly bestowed upon him. As soon as his schooling was complete he practiced law in Chattanooga.

ESTES KEFAUVER's chief assets were his education, his individual courage, and a strong sense of what he wanted for his country. Such assets were needed in the Congress of the United States and he became a Member of the 76th Congress. Reelected to the 77th, 78th, 79th, and 80th Congress, ESTES KEFAUVER was successful in election to the Senate in 1948.

Early in life, the Tennessee statesman learned to separate the truth from the false. This characteristic enabled him

to make a lasting contribution to the American scene in the area of crime investigations.

During the years that Senator KEFAUVER and I served together in the House of Representatives, I learned to respect and admire the ability and the good sense that he brought to Washington with him. He demonstrated courage and vision in the legislative struggles that were his to indulge in for the citizens of Tennessee and the Nation.

Whether at the committee table, in private conference, on the floor of the House or Senate, or on the public platform, his measured words produced a keen respect for his views. Through the years he became a symbol of American honesty. He was always reasonable and sympathetic. He never betrayed a confidence.

All the citizens of the United States benefited from ESTES KEFAUVER'S activities. He despised shoddy and underhanded methods. He spoke with clarity and conviction. One knew his position in the Halls of Congress.

His endeavors in the worthwhile organizations of our 20th century read like a cross section of American life. He regarded his constituents as the finest and the kindest people in the world—and he was one of them. He shared with distinction the heavy responsibilities of committee work in the Congress. His duties he regarded as a sacred trust.

In his death, ESTES KEFAUVER has left a record as high in achievement as it was faithful in performance. He never temporized nor bargained where the public interest was the issue. But, day by day, through long and devoted service in high office, he brought to the State of Tennessee and to the Nation the contribution of learning and sound wisdom.

ESTES KEFAUVER will be remembered by his fellow countrymen as a great American. His accomplishment will be an inspiration to those who believe in democracy as the best instrument for advancing the cause of world peace.

To his wife and family I extend my deep personal sympathy and ask them to remember his steadfast devotion to those things he believed to be right and just.

His belief in his country, his party, and moral justice was most sincere. He lived his belief that "government cannot be static in this dynamic world." But perhaps what was even more important about ESTES KEFAUVER was his profound personal belief in every task he undertook. He will long be remembered by those who were privileged to be associated with him.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the sudden and unexpected passing from the congressional scene of Tennessee's senior Senator, ESTES KEFAUVER, shocked the Nation and saddened countless people like myself, whom he went out of his way to befriend. I was among many, I am sure, who was fortunate enough to have our personal paths cross from time to time, and on each occasion his stalwart example in pursuing the public interest served as an inspiration to a degree that leaves us profoundly in his debt.

As a vigorous and tireless campaigner for the Presidency, Senator KEFAUVER came to know my State of Wisconsin and its Second Congressional District well, and I was more than privileged to serve as a delegate to the national convention in his behalf. But long after he aspired to the Presidency, he came to my aid and campaigned for me with all the drive and energy that he exhibited in his own campaign.

As a member of the House Judiciary Committee, my attention naturally focused on his activities in the Senate Committee on the Judiciary where I was able to observe and get a full measure of appreciation of the courage than has characterized the special investigations which he spearheaded and chaired. It takes a very special kind of courage to cross swords with giant drug interests and the powerful steel and telecommunications industries, racketeers and gambling syndicates. But Senator KEFAUVER refused to be deflected from his singular role of guardian and protector of the American public in his endless crusade against monopoly and organized crime.

With much the same courage, the coonskin-capped Tennessean stood out among his southern colleagues as a champion of civil rights and defender of racial equality long before the words of "sit-in" and "freedom march" became part of the daily American lexicon.

It is too soon to try to evaluate the breadth and depth of his impact on American social, political, and economic life, but I have every confidence that his influence will continue to be felt for many years. His passing leaves a tragic void in the Halls of Congress and in the hearts of his countrymen.

Mrs. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with the deepest regret that I join in observing the passing of the late distinguished Senator from Tennessee, ESTES KEFAUVER. Far removed though it may be from his native Tennessee, the State of Washington will genuinely feel the loss of a good friend in Senator KEFAUVER's death. He came into our State many times and in my own district his friends are legion. His warmth, his understanding, and his deep conscience for humanity made him beloved.

My own personal feeling for Senator KEFAUVER has always been one of great respect and admiration. I have indeed lost a good friend.

My sincerest sympathy to his lovely wife and his four splendid children.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana, the minority leader, and the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Davis], the dean of the Tennessee delegation, have paid moving and fitting tributes to one of our great Americans, ESTES KEFAUVER. I had the great privilege of getting to know Senator KEFAUVER many years ago. I knew him and Nancy and his family well and intimately, lo these many years. It is difficult for me to add to what has already been said. Senator KEFAUVER came from a State which has produced

great men—Secretary of State Hull, Presidents Andrew Johnson and Andrew Jackson, Speaker Sam Rayburn and others—all of whom had a profound understanding of the United States and the strength of the United States as a union of States.

Senator KEFAUVER was in that great tradition. While he loved his State, and his section, he could never be accused of sectionalism. And while he loved the average man, the common man, he could not be accused of being unfair to any group of men anywhere in our country. He was a big man, not only in stature, but a big man in every sense of the word; big in understanding, big in size, big of heart.

He understood the international problems of the United States. I had the privilege of traveling with him to various meetings, such as those of the Interparliamentary Union, and on many occasions I heard him speak at these meetings and articulate, as he so well could, in his homely but convincing and sincere fashion, the mission of our great country.

So, Mr. Speaker, we have all lost a great friend. Tennessee has lost a great leader and our Nation has lost one it can so ill afford to lose at so early a time in his active, vigorous, successful, and productive life.

My wife and I have lost a good friend. I join with my colleagues from Tennessee in extending to his lovely wife, Nancy, who campaigned up an down the Nation with him time in and time out, our deepest sympathy and our love and affection.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, with sadness I join my colleagues in the House of Representatives in expressing my regret on the sudden passing of our good friend and colleague in the other body, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER.

ESTES and I came to Congress as junior Members of the House of Representatives at the same time—the 76th Congress. ESTES KEFAUVER was one of the hardest working and most industrious Members I have encountered. He was always unequivocal in stating his position on legislation, both

while he was a Member of this body and after he became a Member of the other body. He had those qualities of mind and character which we admire. His boundless energy was known to all of us. He will be missed in the years to come.

My sincere condolences to his good wife, Nancy, and his children.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the continuing outpouring of expressions of sorrow that I share so deeply with my colleagues and with people everywhere in all walks of life is its own testimony of the depth of feeling held for that outstanding statesman, the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. He was a man who personified the personal characteristics with which we associate the term "statesman."

Throughout his long years of service to the people of this Nation, he demonstrated an unshakable tenacity of purpose and an unflagging concern for the rights of the individual. He would not be deterred in his fight against organized crime or against those who would attempt to circumvent laws designed to protect the public against those who would profiteer at the expense of the consumer.

It has been my privilege and my pleasure to have been associated with ESTES KEFAUVER in a number of endeavors during the years I have been in this House. Throughout his tenure, his honesty, and integrity permitted no course other than that which principle directed. He feared no odds and would not be turned aside by threats of adverse consequence, when he entered into battle for what he knew to be right.

The Senate and the Nation has lost an indefatigable leader and champion of the people. It is incumbent upon us that the memory and deeds of this great man continue to be an inspiration to our future endeavors to the end that the work he strove so mightily to complete for the good of the Nation may be carried forward as he would wish.

Along with his other countless friends and admirers, I extend to Mrs. Kefauver, and to the children my heartfelt sympathy in their great loss.

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the unexpected passing of my longtime colleague and friend, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, is not only a great personal loss, but a loss to the State of Tennessee and the entire Nation as well.

I first came to know ESTES KEFAUVER when I was elected to this House in the 78th Congress. We served here together until the fall of 1948 when he was first elected to the other body. He was a hard-working and devoted Member of the U.S. Congress, and I am sure many will agree that this country is a better place today because of his continuous crusade against crime and corruption, racketeering and monopolistic practices in industry. ESTES had a genuine concern for the welfare of his fellow men and because of his unyielding dedication to duty and service, he will long be remembered and missed by millions of Americans.

I greatly admired and respected ESTES for his honesty, his ability and for his courage, and I am deeply saddened by his passing. Mrs. Kefauver and the children have my heartfelt sympathy and prayers in their great loss.

Memorial Tributes
to
Carey Estes Kefauver

Memorial Tributes

By Senator Albert Gore, of Tennessee

Mr. President, on behalf of the family of the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, I wish to express their gratitude to the many Senators who paid tribute to his life and his service.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that sundry editorials and resolutions from among the many published throughout the country, may be printed as follows:

[From the Memphis Commercial Appeal, Aug. 11, 1963]

ESTES KEFAUVER

Death has cut short the career of ESTES KEFAUVER, senior Member of the Senate from Tennessee.

While his ideologies were sometimes at variance with those of the Commercial Appeal, Senator KEFAUVER was a man of great energy and determination who made his mark in the Nation's political philosophy.

He will be long remembered for his exposure of the crime overlords, for his antitrust investigations, for his advocacy of greater cooperation among the North Atlantic powers, for unwavering support of the Tennessee Valley Authority, for his efforts to reform the electoral college and for his international services in the cause of parliamentary government procedures.

The unusually tall form with outstretched hand became known through vast areas of the country, as well as in Tennessee, in his indefatigable campaigning. He was a master of the handshake and the personal letter, and, at the other extreme, one of the first to build his political image by means of television news.

Let it also be noted that ESTES KEFAUVER was a compassionate man, willing to stop and help a person in need of his special services even when that person was among his political opposition.

ESTES KEFAUVER was distinguished as a student at the University of Tennessee, took his law degree at Yale, and became an attorney in Chattanooga. In 1939 he began to attract some statewide notice when he was named to the finance commissioner post in the cabinet of Gov. Prentice Cooper. A few months later he resigned to become a candidate for the House, following the death of Representative Sam McReynolds. He won and was a Member of Congress continuously until his death.

In 1948 he won nationwide attention. E. H. Crump undertook to replace a Senator, who declined to bow out. The old Senator and the new Crump candidate divided votes previously united and the independent Member of Congress, Representative KEFAUVER, wearing a coonskin cap as a symbol of defiance, moved to the upper House.

He was untypical of Tennessee political figures and he was a "loner" in Washington, where length of service, committee compromises, and trading for votes are the normal routes to high standing.

With this background in politics it is all the more remarkable that Senator KEFAUVER twice came close to the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party. In 1952 he was the leading candidate on the first convention vote and he gained strength on the second. In the 1956 convention he defeated Senator John F. Kennedy for the vice presidential nomination.

The Kefauver appeal was that of the single human being standing up to the great strength of organized politics, and big business, and all of the other powerful forces that bear down on the individual.

He was cast in an original mold and another like him is unlikely to appear soon.

[From the Nashville Banner, Aug. 10, 1963]

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

Shock and regret mark the passing of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, keenly felt in his home State, and shared throughout the wide circle of his personal and political acquaintance. Tennessee had not known the extent of his ill health, nor was there previous awareness—even on his part—of a serious heart condition.

His career in public life embraced more than a quarter of a century, most of it in Congress; first as representative of the Third Tennessee District, and latterly in the Senate. In 1956, he was the Democratic nominee for Vice President as Adlai Stevenson's running mate.

On their senior Senator, fellow-Tennesseans had strong convictions, pro and con. His liberalism, closely allied with that branch of the national party councils, attracted its following—and repelled others. But he did not disguise extreme leanings, and made no pretense of conservatism.

Senator KEFAUVER had his place in the political history of Tennessee and the country. Constituents knew where he stood, and there was no deviation on his part. As a political strategist in his own behalf, he knew the rules of that game, and employed them expertly for his own political survival.

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

Tennessee knew him, boy and man, for most of his 60 years. His record in public life supplies its own basis for evaluation.

Certainly a public figure does not fall without leaving a void—and there is one today in the State's congressional delegation. To his family, the heartfelt condolences of sympathizers, everywhere.

[Telegram from the Memphis Press-Scimitar]

ESTES KEFAUVER AND THE AMERICAN TRADITION

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, who died unexpectedly this morning, came nearer being elected President of the United States than any other southerner since the Civil War.

He handshook himself into presidential primary victories all over the country in 1952, and he was vice presidential nominee in 1956.

But he couldn't quite achieve the Democratic presidential nomination. In large part, this was due to the fact that he did not court the party politicians as much as he did the voters. But also it was his misfortune to make his bid at the time when Adlai Stevenson was charming the delegates. And if he had been nominated, he might well have failed to overcome another charmer—Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower—but it would have been a real fight, for KEFAUVER had his own charm, and he had dogged determination.

KEFAUVER got his big boost into the national picture right here in Memphis when, in 1948, a committee of influential and hard-working Memphians got together to help elect him to the Senate for the first time. They beat the drums for him here and carried the campaign eastward even into middle Tennessee. KEFAUVER didn't win in Shelby that first time, but he got an unusually large vote for any candidate opposed by the Shelby political machine, and it helped him win in a three-cornered race, and his victory, along with that of Gordon Browning for Governor, broke the power of the machine in both Shelby and the State.

KEFAUVER'S espousal of the principle that the Western democracies should draw closer together politically and economically in order to be able to stand against Communist aggression won him the support of Edmund Orgill. Orgill, later to become mayor of Memphis, had been converted to the idea of Atlantic Union by Clarence Streit, long-time apostle of a United Atlantic Community of nations.

Orgill was a leader in the Kefauver committee of 1948.

After his election, KEFAUVER introduced a resolution calling for a convention to explore the possibilities of closer union among the peoples of the Atlantic nations. He persisted until such a convention was finally held.

As a Tennessee millhand said during KEFAUVER's third Senatorial campaign in 1960, "That fellow (KEFAUVER) really done what he said he would."

KEFAUVER did a lot more in Congress.

He exposed crime in the first televised Senate hearings.

He was one of the first Members of Congress to propose legislation to modernize the electoral college and make it more representative of the will of the people in election of presidents.

Up to his death, he was waging a continuing fight against the high price of prescription drugs.

Although he was a political power in Tennessee, and kept his own fences mended, he did not seek to form a machine to control State politics in general.

He was content to call on his forces (and they were powerful) only in his own campaigns. His reluctance to pick a Governor candidate last year made it impossible for his friends to get together on a candidate who might have defeated Frank Clement. It was too late in the campaign when he announced his personal support of P. R. Olgiati.

KEFAUVER went his own way. As he said when the late E. H. Crump called him a pet coon in the 1948 campaign, "at least I'm not Mr. Crump's pet coon." He stepped on a good many toes, but that didn't keep him from the path he set for himself.

He did not join with the many southern Members of Congress who signed the southern manifesto in protest against the Supreme Court's 1954 segregation decision. He upheld the Supreme Court decision as the final word as to what is the law of the land. That made him unpopular with many—yet he won reelection handily in 1960.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a politician and statesman in the American tradition of Abraham Lincoln and Cordell Hull. He didn't come up from a log cabin, but he lived as a youth in the upper floor of a store building in the small town of Madisonville, Tenn. He showed ambition and leadership early at the University of Tennessee, where he was graduated in 1924, holding many student offices, including presidency of the student body. He made a name for himself in the House of Representatives where he served 10 years before aspiring to the Senate.

His shoes are big ones to fill.

KEFAUVER's heart beat sincerely for the world and its people.

[From the Knoxville News-Sentinel]

ESTES KEFAUVER

As are all public figures, ESTES KEFAUVER was controversial. He was either admired or heartily disliked. But his admirers far, far exceeded his detractors.

Chief cause of this detraction was his bold, frank, and honest position on every issue; often this placed him on the unpopular side. More often than not, however, he turned out to be right.

This Monroe County son, a graduate of both the University of Tennessee and Yale, burst on the public scene back in 1939, when he was appointed State finance commissioner by Gov. Prentice Cooper. In the brief period of his 4 months in that office he instituted a number of reforms that are still on the books. He authored the first State law providing the formula for consolidation of various local government functions.

Then he went to Congress from the Third District, where he served brilliantly for nearly 10 years before going up to the Senate.

In the House, KEFAUVER quickly established himself as a leader of young turks who saw many weaknesses in the processes of our Government and fought for remedies. One object of a persistent attack has been the outmoded electoral college method of choosing our President. Some day that battle will be won; it is too bad KEFAUVER didn't live to see it.

In 1948 ESTES KEFAUVER teamed up with Gordon Browning, KEFAUVER running for the Senate seat occupied by Tom Stewart and Browning challenging Governor McCord. Both Stewart and McCord were stooges of Ed Crump, who at that time was political boss of Tennessee. KEFAUVER and Browning broke Crump's power and were elected.

It was in that campaign that KEFAUVER gained national attention; Crump called KEFAUVER a pet coon and ESTES capitalized on the libelous phrase by immediately wearing a coonskin cap as he stumped the State.

In his 15 years in the Senate, KEFAUVER took on the big bosses and syndicates of organized crime including the boxing and wrestling rackets; he was a major factor in breaking up monopolistic business combines: He exposed the rigged bidding of huge industrial corporations; and he authored a law (watered down by the opposition before it was enacted) bringing about reforms in the drugs-manufacturing business. He was still fighting his war on the drugs manufacturers at his death; he had, through the antimonopoly committee he headed, ordered the companies to bring in their records on price-cutting practices in South America.

In 1952 KEFAUVER ran for the Democratic nomination for President, and came within an eyelash of winning it. He dared to challenge the party leadership, and that proved to be costly. "KEF," as he was called by his close friends, never quite recovered from that disappointment.

Yet 4 years later he came back and won the No. 2 spot on the national ticket with Adlai Stevenson. Of course no Democrat could have defeated President Eisenhower that year; Ike even carried

KEFAUVER's own State and own voting precinct; threatening clouds of war frightened every parent in America.

Few public figures have had greater personal charm and magnetism than ESTES KEFAUVER. His handshake was his trademark; his memory for names was elephantine. During his political life of nearly a quarter of a century he wrote literally thousands of little personal notes to constituents in Tennessee and to friends all over the world.

Someday, we are confident, historians will refer to ESTES KEFAUVER as one of the outstanding congressional figures of our time.

To his lovely and capable widow, the former Nancy Pigott, of Scotland, and the three daughters and son, we extend deep condolences; with the vast horde of Kefauver friends we join in solemn salute to a dedicated public servant.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 11, 1963]

BATTLER AGAINST BIGNESS

In a period when it was unfashionable to be emotionally involved about anything, ESTES KEFAUVER would come into his Senate office and confide to his staff that he had not slept all night because of worry over some fresh aspect of the centralization of power in big government, big industry, or big labor. He epitomized all that was most valid in the old Populist tradition of concern for individual rights against the suffocating encroachments of bigness. The effervescence of his efforts made him something of an anachronism in the cool atmosphere of the New Frontier, but every American is the beneficiary of his dedication, his indomitability, and the primacy he assigned human values.

The disposition will be to remember him for his much publicized investigations—an image unjust to the substantial legislative accomplishments that are his true memorial. The Kefauver-Celler bill of 1950 tightening antitrust curbs on corporate mergers was the fruit of a 5-year drive. Similar tenacity pushed through the monumental drug reform bill last year—a task that depended for its completion on the thalidomide tragedies but that never would have been entertained at all without his persistence. At his death he was fighting for an inquiry into a trade war obstructing the distribution of low-priced U.S. drugs in Latin America. Undoubtedly the remembrance that would please him most now would be a decision by his Senate colleagues to go ahead with this project he considered essential to the basic aims of the Alliance for Progress—the same aims that illumined his life.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Aug. 12, 1963]

ESTES KEFAUVER

One element in the tragedy of ESTES KEFAUVER's death is that it occurred when the Senator was becoming an increasingly effective Member of the Senate.

The Tennessean reached a peak of popularity, no doubt, in his 1951 crime investigation which put his face before millions of television viewers. Thereafter his coonskin cap was in the presidential ring twice, and he won 14 of 17 presidential preference primaries in 1952. But political popularity is not the same thing as political effectiveness, nor does presidential ambition necessarily coincide with accomplishment.

His publicized crime hearings had rather limited immediate results, though they made it easier years later for the Kennedy administration to promote new Federal antiracketeering laws. By contrast, after 1956 Senator KEFAUVER led substantial and fruitful investigations of monopoly practices and also of the drug industry. Having apparently set Presidential hopes aside, he concentrated on senatorial tasks at hand, and did well.

Senator KEFAUVER was a self-proclaimed liberal. He was a stanch supporter of the Tennessee Valley Authority for his own region, and of economic legislation benefiting other areas that remained depressed. His foreign policy views were generally enlightened. And no one could question the courage of a southern Senator who, in a vicious 1960 reelection campaign, refused to give an inch of ground to an opponent who attacked him accurately as a civil rights supporter and disreputably as "soft" on communism.

The late boss, Edward H. Crump, called Mr. KEFAUVER a pet coon of advanced causes when he ran for the House in 1939. Mr. KEFAUVER replied that "I may be a pet coon, but I'm not Mr. Crump's pet coon." Tennessee voters repeatedly complimented his independence of mind, and we hope the State may do as well in picking his successor.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Aug. 11, 1963]

ESTES KEFAUVER

Only hours before his sudden death at 60, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, was engaged in a spirited debate with his colleagues, this time on the subject of the new Communications Satellite Corp. As usual, though overwhelmingly outvoted on the issue, he spoke as a liberal, championing the public interest against what he regarded as the forces of monopoly.

This was the position he adhered to throughout his lively and distinguished career as a Senator. There were many who thought

him wrong on more than a few occasions, but he held fast to his views. And there was a time—especially after his famous televised crime investigation in 1951—when a lot of Americans began to think of him in terms of presidential possibilities.

Senator KEFAUVER frankly so thought of himself, and he made no bones about it. Tall, personable, full of vigor, and ambitious, he is said to have set his heart upon the White House as far back as his high school days. And twice—in 1952 and 1956—he did his best (and rather impressively despite the gimmick of the coonskin cap) to win the Democratic presidential nomination. But he lost out both times to Adlai Stevenson.

It is hard to believe that this man, who only the other day was so energetically arguing for what he believed to be right, is now suddenly gone from us. Whether one agreed with him or not, he was an altogether likable and hard-working legislator respected by all his colleagues. The Senate is the poorer for his passing, and so is Tennessee.

[From the Daily Post Athenian, Athens, Tenn.]

"THE TALL TENNESSEAN" IS DEAD

America is in mourning.

One of her alltime great sons is dead.

Several years ago this corner dubbed ESTES KEFAUVER "The Tall Tennessean," but we didn't know how tall he really was until his towering frame crashed in death Saturday morning and a nation felt the tremors.

It is a long way from a rambling white house on Main Street in Madisonville, a little town in east Tennessee, to the White House on historic Pennsylvania Avenue in the Nation's Capital. But ESTES almost made it.

In fact, he did make it. Political powers turned him back as its occupant in 1952, but they turned him over to the people and he has occupied their hearts ever since as no man has been able to do.

Perhaps fate denied him the Presidency and acclaimed him spokesman for the rank and file of the country.

That's what he was.

From New Hampshire to Florida, from Minnesota to California, from Chattanooga to Seattle, "The Tall Tennessean" was the voice of the man who had something to say and could not be heard above the clamor of the crowd.

KEFAUVER spoke for him.

His message was heard and heeded.

To say that he was always liked would be an injustice to him. At times he was bitterly opposed in his contentions but he never

swerved from his course. He never violated his own conscience and never betrayed a cause he represented.

These causes ranged widely. They spread from championing TVA, battling big monopolies for the little businessman, opposing organized crime, supporting congressional reforms, revealing facts in foreign affairs on a national level to establishing a tobacco market, getting appropriations for a bridge over Tennessee River and investigating insurance claims on the local scene.

These things made him a champion.

KEFAUVER parleyed a coonskin cap and a ready handshake into a bareheaded, hard-working trademark which made him welcome on a trout stream in nearby Tellico Mountains or by a bubbling fountain in the gilded halls of Europe.

He was that unique figure in politics known as a loner, but his colleagues, both friend and foe, paid him the tribute of listening and generally voting with him.

Indeed the letter "T" summarizes the life of KEFAUVER—tall, talented, thorough, trustworthy, and triumphant.

There is a quietness now at a rambling white house in Madisonville, Tenn., and a flag of 50 stars is flying at half-mast at the White House in Washington, D.C.

It should be that way.

ESTES KEFAUVER, "The tall Tennessean," has fallen in death.

[From the Delta Democrat-Times, Aug. 12, 1963]

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

There is much talk about the new conservatism of the South. It certainly exists, but the political life of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER of Tennessee, who died Saturday, illustrated the other side of this political coin. A liberal who never backed away from the full implications of his position, he helped radically change the political structure of his home State in a way which will be hard to alter.

Senator KEFAUVER came to senatorial power, after years of relative obscurity as a Congressman, by taking on the political organization of Memphis political boss Ed Crump and decisively smashing it. Thereafter he was never seriously challenged, although he was an ardent civil rights advocate, persistent enemy of abuses in big business and a favorite of many liberals across the Nation.

He kept his political base at home secure by the kind of 18-hour-a-day, down-to-the-people kind of campaign which reached the mass of the voters even as his policies were alienating many of the men who once dominated Tennessee. He made his reputation as a battler for the little man and as an enemy of organized crime, and the people remembered this when they returned him to office again and again.

ESTES KEFAUVER came close to the presidential nomination once, as close as any southerner has come since his fellow Tennessean Andrew Johnson left the White House almost 100 years ago. He missed, as much because his style of campaigning could not be spread over 180 million people as anything else, but for a moment the Nation's highest political honor seemed within his grasp. Yet while the Nation did not elect him President, the people of Tennessee still demonstrated their loyalty by keeping him in the Senate.

ESTES KEFAUVER is dead now, cut off at an early age as it is measured in the U.S. Senate. Up to the moment of his death he was still battling for the people who elected him, fighting for a curb on what he saw as the abuse of power and control in the drug industry. In his life he proved a southerner of liberal persuasion could be elected. It is a testimonial to his influence that his death will not change this, and that his successor will almost certainly be a man whose political teeth were cut as part of his organization.

STATEMENT BY MR. ARTHUR J. FREUND, CRIMINAL LAW SECTION, AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

It is with deep and profound regret that we of the Criminal Law Section of the American Bar Association note the tragic and untimely death of the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, U.S. Senator from the State of Tennessee.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a close personal friend of many of us of this section. He was a constant supported of our efforts, and he made enormous contributions to the administration of criminal justice. He was a consistent and indefatigable advocate and statesman in the cause of equal justice under the law. It was ESTES KEFAUVER who awakened the conscience of America to the ruthless course of organized crime throughout our Nation. With great courage, he exposed to public view the most notorious participants of this dangerous and devastating group who would destroy the foundations of honest law enforcement. In this, he displayed the skill, energy and dedication, the high degree of intelligence and unceasing devotion that always characterized his long service to his State and country.

ESTES KEFAUVER has, over the years, been a devoted friend of this section of criminal law. He was frequently in consultation with us, and we often came to him for his important assistance. A great statesman in so many varied fields of government, our deceased friend was a lawyer in the highest traditions of our profession and, with all, a courteous, kindly, and friendly gentleman.

We shall miss him, and we shall miss our loyal and competent supporter, and we mourn his loss.

We convey to the widow and children of Estes Kefauver our heartfelt sympathy and condolence, and we authorize our section to appropriately express our sorrow and regret of the death of this great man at the memorial exercises to be held in the U.S. Senate to mark his final departure.

Resolution by the Board of Directors, Memphis and Shelby County Young Democrats Association

Whereas the passing of a statesman of firm and uncompromising ideals, devoted to his calling, his country, and the people whom he served, is always a profound loss to the citizens of the United States; and

Whereas Senator Estes Kefauver, senior Senator from the State of Tennessee, was such a man: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the board of directors of the Memphis and Shelby County Young Democrats Association conveys its sympathy to the family of Senator Estes Kefauver on the sad occasion of his untimely death; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Senator Albert Gore, of Tennessee, for insertion in the Congressional Record, and to Representative Clifford Davis, dean of the Tennessee congressional delegation.

Harold C. Streibich,
President.

Resolution Adopted by the Irish Society of Memphis, August 18, 1963

Whereas the Honorable Estes Kefauver, then Tennessee's most distinguished son, died suddenly at Bethesda, Md., August 10, 1963, after 24 years of superlative service to the Nation and the State of Tennessee in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States; and

Whereas Senator Kefauver, as Representative and Senator always adhered to that which he believed to be right and best for the welfare of his country regardless of political expediency and was a man of outstanding moral courage and political honesty; and

Whereas this great statesman was a true friend of the Irish Society of Memphis and its kindred organizations: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Irish Society of Memphis, That in the death of Senator Kefauver this State and this Nation have lost a capable,

patriotic, and faithful official and that the society shall always honor his memory; and be it further

Resolved, That the society extends its deepest sympathy to his bereaved family and that his widow be furnished with a copy of this resolution and that copies thereof be transmitted to the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States.

JOHN T. DWYER,
President.
THOMAS L. ROBINSON,
C. P. J. MOONEY,
Committeemen.

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

By Representative Joe L. Evins, of Tennessee

Mr. Speaker, we were all saddened by the sudden and untimely passing of our late colleague and friend, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee. With other colleagues in the House and Senate, I attended the final rites for Senator KEFAUVER on August 13 in Madisonville, which services were a fitting tribute to the memory of this courageous, tireless, and unselfish leader.

I was necessarily absent from the House on the day of the official announcement of the passing of Senator KEFAUVER, but I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to this great Tennessean and great American, and under unanimous consent I insert the very excellent editorial from the August 11 Nashville Tennessean, on the life and character and public service of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. The editorial from the Nashville Tennessean follows:

NATION, WORLD SHARE STATE'S LOSS OF A DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVANT

Upon learning of the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, a great many Americans across this broad land knew they had lost a great and stalwart friend in Congress.

Senator KEFAUVER had so often spoken and fought for the consumer—the little man—that innumerable people across the Nation owe him a debt of gratitude.

The tall man with the rough-hewn features belonged to Tennessee, but in a larger sense he belonged to the Nation and the countless people who had shaken his hand in primary campaigns and watched his work in the Senate.

A national magazine once said of him in an editorial: "We are not among his constituents but we wish we were. He is the Senate's ablest investigator. In defense of the general public interest he has been diligent, inventive, intelligent, reliable, and, above all, courageous."

For almost a quarter of a century, the senior Senator from Tennessee has battled patiently, continuously, and sometimes alone for the people of his State and Nation and, through his connections with the Interparliamentary Union of the Atlantic Alliance, the world.

His efforts were in behalf of their pocketbooks, their homes, their farms and cities, their basic freedoms, their health, and hopes of living in a peaceful world.

Senator KEFAUVER went to Washington believing deeply in certain progressive principles. He was determined to do something about them, and the broad sweep of his record attests to how much he did. He went about his work calmly and conscientiously, and that record has been one of courageous resistance against all sorts of pressure, threats, intimidations, and enticements.

He had his share of defeats, legislative and political. And he knew how to take them with dignity. He saw his hopes go glimmering on the floor of the 1952 Democratic Convention, and again in 1956. But he took his reversals with characteristic calmness and in good spirit.

The Senator retained from his presidential battles a most devoted personal following which existed to the day of his death. A Tennessean, visiting in almost any State from New Hampshire to Oregon is certain to find Kefauver admirers.

It is no particular mystery how Senator KEFAUVER was able to retain such a strong grip on the public's affections. Much of the strong feeling aroused by this tall Tennessean with a sincere smile and a hearty handshake was his sense of conviction and dedication about political goals—no matter whether it was a presidential primary or getting to the bottom of drug prices.

Senator KEFAUVER was in effect the underdog fighting for all other underdogs. He was a David among the Goliaths of the trusts, the oil cartel, the big pharmaceutical interests, or the crime syndicate. He plunged into fights where there seemed to be no hope of winning, where lesser men would have faltered and turned back.

In his struggles he incurred some powerful enmities, beginning with the machine of "Boss" E. H. Crump, of Memphis, and being added to when he launched the 1951 Senate crime hearings. In that inquiry he proved that racketeers were infiltrating the big city political machines. His trampling on political toes was to haunt him later, but he suspected as much in the beginning and wasn't deterred.

It was the forthrightness and conviction of Mr. KEFAUVER that cemented a friendship between him and the late Silliman Evans, Sr., publisher of this newspaper from 1937 to 1955. Mr. KEFAUVER wanted to have a greater part in the fight against "Boss" Crump, and decided to give up his House seat and run for the Senate.

He approached Mr. Evans for advice and was told he could count on the newspaper's support if he would make one promise—to shake 500 hands a day until election time. It was a promise Mr. KEFAUVER kept and the Nashville Tennessean became the first major newspaper to give him editorial support for the Senate.

The subsequent victory was political history in Tennessee, and the campaign symbol of a coonskin cap—made in response to a Crump remark about pet coons—was fixed in the political scene.

This newspaper did not always agree with Mr. KEFAUVER, or he with it. But on basic principles there never was a quarrel. There was never anything but pride for a Senator who ranked with men like George Norris, Bob La Follette and others in the quality of statesmanship.

There were occasions when Senator KEFAUVER stood alone or almost alone on a point of legislation, urging in his calm voice a course of wisdom and restraint. In the end, not only the Congress but his critics saw the pertinency and wisdom of his view.

For example, he fought Senator John Bricker's efforts to hamstring the President's treatymaking powers. Of his stand, Senator KEFAUVER said: "It will not be popular, but I cannot in good conscience idly stand by without opposing what I consider a dangerous amendment which would seriously injure our foreign relations * * *"

His fight lasted for 2 years and in 1954 President Eisenhower came out strongly against the amendment, and it quietly died.

As a Senator, Mr. KEFAUVER will be remembered as one of the all time greats. As a friend, he will be remembered for countless incidents of thoughtfulness and kindnesses to so many.

He was a relaxing person with whom to visit, for his most striking characteristic was his unhurried pace, his calm manner, and methodical speech. He had that quality of being able to sustain two levels of thought, and his concentration at times was such it was mistaken for absent-mindedness or deep gloom.

He could chat with a friend in the folksy, homespun language of the general store, or in legal language while exploring the complex mazes of antimonopoly law. With equal facility he could discuss farm problems at the courthouse square or debate with parliamentarians in Europe's gilded halls.

He was a Roosevelt Democrat, a Truman Democrat, a Stevenson Democrat, and a Kennedy Democrat. And many who followed him in his support of others were first, last, and always Kefauver Democrats.

Senator KEFAUVER's death will be mourned throughout the State and Nation and across the sea. Tennessee's loss is the Nation's loss and that of free men everywhere.

A courageous and dedicated fighter has fallen. The gaping void left by his passing will not be easily filled, for such men come along but seldom.

Senator KEFAUVER has, by his total commitment to public service, human welfare, and better government, left his mark on the pages of contemporary history and in the hearts of all his countrymen.

By Representative William E. Brock 3d, of Tennessee

Mr. Speaker, I commend the following editorials from Senator KEFAUVER's hometown newspapers to your attention:

[From the Chattanooga Times, Aug. 11, 1963]

KEFAUVER OF TENNESSEE, 1903–63

On the threshold of another quarter century of internationally recognized service in the U.S. Congress, ESTES KEFAUVER suddenly is cut down. A fighting heart has stopped. It is with a deep and stinging sadness that we note the death of a great Chattanoogan, Tennessean, and American.

East Tennessee courage, determination, and ability drove ESTES KEFAUVER to follow the counsel of poet John Donne: "Go and catch a falling star. * * *" He reached high. And he found a towering place indeed.

Not soon will that place be filled, if ever. For his advent to the Senate 15 years ago, after a decade as the Third District Representative in the House, marks a distinct political era in State history, an era now ended.

Senator KEFAUVER's election in 1948—one of many races which stamped him as a campaigner without parallel in Tennessee, and which subjected him to fearful strain—eliminated the Nation's last statewide political machine. His service in bringing representative government to Tennessee was signal among his accomplishments.

Service had long since become his life. As a boy in Madisonville; as a popular University of Tennessee student; at Yale law school where he paid his own way, he worked to that end.

It was in Chattanooga, as a young lawyer, that his concepts of service were refined and oriented. As chairman of the county planning commission and in numerous other activities he won, in 1937, the Jaycee Young Man of the Year award. Many more honors were to come.

By 1946 he had been named by Collier's magazine as one of the 10 outstanding Members of the House. The first of his two books (the other was "Crime in America"), "20th Century Congress," had been termed "must reading" by Bernard Baruch. In its plea for more efficient congressional machinery, it revealed him as a serious student of government with a broad grasp of the democratic function.

During his sponsorship of countless bills aimed at progress and reform, he was named by Time as one of the 10 best Senators.

And only last Thursday in the Senate, his detailed arguments on the communications satellite issue filled 10 pages of the Congressional Record.

He went down as he would have desired, a vigorous battler for principles in which he believed. Throughout his entire career his actions were open and aboveboard. He was not a straddler. Often, he was clairvoyant in his approach to the divisive and controversial questions, such as human relations. He earned both the enmity of powerful groups and parochial epithets of "anti-South." But history will judge him, we are sure, as southern, and American, to the core.

During two mighty, fascinating efforts for the Presidency, in 1952 and 1956, no one seemed for him but the people. He stormed the primaries, and lost in the smoke-laden rooms.

The voters became acquainted with, and liked, his soft tones and his unassuming directness, his gentle manner, and dogged pursuit.

As Democratic nominee for Vice President in 1956, he drew further distinction to his State.

He was dedicated from youth to the ideals and objectives of the Tennessee Valley Authority. And in his passing, the TVA has lost perhaps its best and most influential friend.

He took an active role in constructive legislation involving every phase of domestic life, as the news columns attest. These efforts alone, climaxed in his crime investigations, made him known in every capital of the world.

But he was equally concerned with the future and strength of the free world. As an original supporter of the Atlantic Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, he styled himself forthrightly and commendably as an internationalist. Often a delegate to world parliamentary councils, he never spared himself in his hectic travels.

It was not easy to capture the essence of ESTES KEFAUVER. There were times when turmoil and relentless pressures of public life closed in around and depressed him. When the campaigns seemed to offer imposing or impossible odds, there occasionally was a withdrawal that accompanied his continuous handshaking.

Incredibly, and sustained by a basic love for people in the mass, he bounced back time and again.

From his boyhood in Madisonville, in the shadow of the Great Smokies, there was about him a friendliness, a strength, and a stern independence of thought that thrust him toward prominence.

By 1960, when he won his third Senate term, he had appeared to achieve that illusory status, political invincibility in the State—despite his implacable enemies. But his punishing life had taken its toll. And today, with three and a half years of his term yet to run, he is gone.

ESTES KEFAUVER carries with him the respect and affection of thousands, even of those who frequently disagreed with him. He has been a force for good in the Nation and in the world. As the late conservative Republican Senator Charles Tobey, of New Hampshire, said of him, he "had in his heart a need of decency in America." We, who have followed him since the early days, shall treasure his memory.

[From the Chattanooga News-Free Press, Aug. 10, 1963]

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

One of Tennessee's most colorful and widely known political careers came to a sudden and shocking close this morning when Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, active in debate on the Senate floor as late as yesterday, died at 3:40 a.m.

While the Senate considered the program for communications satellites, Senator KEFAUVER suffered what he at first thought was discomfort caused by indigestion. He rode to Bethesda Naval Hospital in a private car, where tests brought the diagnosis that his illness was a mild heart attack that would require him to rest for 3 weeks. In this day when former President Dwight D. Eisenhower suffered a severe attack and not only survived but returned to good health to run for a second term, and when Senator Lyndon Johnson recovered from a heart attack to run for and be elected Vice President, it appeared possible the illness of Senator KEFAUVER might be only a temporary delay in the career that brought him international prominence.

But his condition suddenly worsened and death came from what doctors described as "a rupture of the main blood vessel from the heart."

In his 60 years, Senator KEFAUVER carried on the prominence of his family which had begun as early as the time of Tennessee statehood.

Early in his career as a Chattanooga attorney, ESTES KEFAUVER involved himself in government. It attracted him as a moth is drawn to a flame, and he developed a highly personal technique that drew to him voters with a spirit of mission and loyalty that was to stand him in good stead throughout his life.

CAMPAIGNING

Senator KEFAUVER was never a brilliant speaker or a shining personality who awed or overwhelmed his audiences. Rather, he was somewhat awed or low pitched in his approach. He gave the impression of utter simplicity that was disarming and accompanied by a tirelessness in personal campaigning that has been unexcelled by any modern political figures. His big hand was

constantly outstretched as he said quietly, "I'm ESTES KEFAUVER." The effectiveness of his technique was first noted as he served as representative for the Third Congressional District. He was a rather extreme liberal in political approach, far more so than the electorate that repeatedly returned him to office by large margins. He rose with the tide of the Roosevelt New Deal, coasted with the waves of liberalism in the Truman Fair Deal, crested in the political crosscurrents of the 1950's.

After 10 years in Congress, he chose odds which to many seemed too much. But ESTES KEFAUVER never was awed by odds. He challenged the Crump political organization in the race for the U.S. Senate seat held by Tom Stewart. His campaign style, that was to become a nationally known trademark, and the errors of Boss Ed Crump brought him victory. Mr. Crump turned, in that 1948 election, from his previous backing of Senator Stewart to support relatively unknown Judge John Mitchell. This divided the forces against whom ESTES KEFAUVER had to fight. Then, at a time when the Chattanooga Congressman was not well known in distant parts of the State, Mr. Crump, by his opposition, gave him the kind of publicity that proved to be the greatest asset of the Kefauver campaign. As Mr. Crump attacked him in full-page newspaper ads by calling him a political pet coon, ESTES KEFAUVER donned a coonskin cap and assumed the role of champion of those who fought against political bossism, declaring that, if indeed, he were a pet coon, he was not Mr. Crump's pet coon. That campaign took ESTES KEFAUVER to the U.S. Senate although he gained only a little more than 40 percent of the total vote, with Senator Stewart and Judge Mitchell splitting the rest.

Having achieved this political pinnacle, Senator KEFAUVER quickly consolidated his position. He maintained close touch with the grassroots and carefully built patronage fences.

SOURCE OF STRENGTH

The backbone of his political strength was the powerful labor unions and their political arms, plus minority groups and those who sought from Federal Government special welfare State programs. To this core he added many by his ardent campaigning, sustained even in nonelection years by the familiar letters by the hundreds signed simply ESTES and Christmas cards and other communications of very personal nature.

He was reelected to the Senate twice, and was never to suffer serious political setback except in his ambitions to be President.

His liberal philosophy was aimed toward attainment of the Nation's highest office. He yearned for it and built his record to move toward it. While less determined men would have been discouraged by the inability to gain an "in" status with the

National Democratic Party's "pros," Senator ESTES KEFAUVER fought for the presidential nomination in preferential primaries and with direct appeals. Using a nationwide reputation won by his televised investigations of crime that showed him off to advantage questioning known racketeers, he became a serious presidential contender in 1952 and again in 1956, only to be defeated at the Democratic Convention both times.

Senator KEFAUVER's voting record reflected his national political aims and the liberal trend of his party. He constantly advocated policies of more centralized power in Washington, of larger government, of more Federal spending, of increased handout programs domestically and foreign aid abroad. He was an internationalist, an early advocate of Atlantic Union and a sort of world government.

Though he was from a southern State, he excluded himself from the band of southern Senators who over the years have fought the many battles in defense of the Constitution and against Federal intervention to force racial integration.

TYPICAL BATTLE

His last battle on the Senate floor yesterday was typical of his position throughout his career. He was fighting for governmental control of satellite communications and opposing ownership and management of this field by private enterprise.

By his sudden death, a political figure of historic proportions has been removed from the turbulent Tennessee scene that he so effectively mastered from Bristol to Memphis for many years.

His rise to power marked a new political era in our State and reflected strong political currents on the national level. His passing surely will mark the beginning of still another new era in Tennessee political and governmental life.

As Tennesseans express condolence to Mrs. Kefauver and their three daughters and one son, citizens of all political persuasions will recognize that the career of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER has been a powerful and historic one that has had a significant influence in our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, many praises have been given the late Senator from Tennessee, ESTES KEFAUVER. High among these was recognition of his personal valor. He challenged the mightly and the powerful. As further evidence of his courage, the liberal Tennessee Senator is reported to have been planning to launch his Antitrust Subcommittee into an investigation of the monopoly powers of labor unions because he had become convinced that they exerted undue control

over the American economy. The fact that he would have been willing to incur the wrath of the labor bosses even though he always had received strong backing from the unions and generally could be counted on as one of their major supporters in the Halls of Congress is characteristic of his courageousness.

What a fitting tribute to ESTES KEFAUVER it would be if the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee were to complete this last important project planned by its late chairman.

Senator KEFAUVER's close acquaintance, Journalist Charles Bartlett, recently wrote a column pointing out the Tennessean's feeling regarding the need for more curbs on unions. Under unanimous consent, I include this article:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, Aug. 18, 1963]

UNION CURB A KEFAUVER AIM

(By Charles Bartlett)

A major effort by the Senate Antimonopoly Subcommittee to curb the impact of labor unions on the economy had been secretly and carefully planned by Senator ESTES KEFAUVER before his death on August 10.

Senator KEFAUVER's determination to investigate the labor unions as a monopoly force evolved from a dramatic reversal in the thinking of a man whose political life had been nurtured by labor support and whose advocacy of liberal causes had been constant.

His plans were known only to a small group of close associates, who say that the Senator reluctantly decided to apply the leverage of his subcommittee against the unions because he became convinced they had achieved a disproportionate power that was exerting an adverse effect upon the economy.

He was motivated by a concern for the public and not by a sympathy for business, whose abuses his subcommittee had probed ruthlessly. "It is time," he is quoted as saying, "to give the public a break."

SLATED FOR SEPTEMBER

The investigation was to begin in mid-September but a considerable amount of groundwork had been laid. Senator KEFAUVER kept all of the papers at home and had spoken of his plans to only one of his employees on Capitol Hill, as far as can be learned. He had not mentioned them to his subcommittee staff, which is prolabor in outlook.

The Senator's chief associate in the endeavor was Luis Kutner, an old friend and Chicago lawyer who was among those responsible for inducing him to embark on the famous crime investigation in 1949.

The two men had talked for a long time of the monopoly problem in labor power and last October, at Senator KEFAUVER's suggestion, Mr. Kutner published in the University of Pittsburgh Law Review an article that was in fact to be the blueprint of the investigation.

Congress granted labor unions a number of special privileges and immunities to enable them to survive in their early days, the article asserted, but these preferences can no longer be justified at a time when the unions have achieved disproportionate power, wealth, and economic dominance. Mr. Kutner maintained that the Nation's economy is now controlled by the 10 percent of the population who comprise the labor force.

ANTITRUST IMMUNITY

Senator KEFAUVER's investigation was to be concerned with labor's exemption from Federal antitrust prosecution, granted in the Clayton Act of 1914 and reaffirmed in the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932. Mr. Kutner proposed a partial elimination of this immunity.

He agued that industrywide negotiations should be made illegal and that collective bargaining units should be limited to the size of individual enterprises.

Noting that Walter P. Reuther, United Auto Workers president, had attempted to form a $500 million general strike fund for labor, Mr. Kutner maintained that the union bargaining units should be prohibited from extending financial assistance to each other and required, like management, to avoid any form of collusion.

Mr. Kutner proposed to draw a line between the unions' legitimate interests in the labor market and their opportunities to control the product market with legislation that would forbid direct attempts to control prices, areas of distribution, the amount of goods produced, or the number of producing and distributing firms.

PROPOSED TAX

Mr. Kutner also maintained there was no valid reason why union income from capital, estimated as high as $3 billion, should enjoy the same immunity from income taxes that was originally accorded their regular income from dues. He proposed to tax their investment income and the portion of their dues income that was not related to their function as a bargaining agent.

These would have been the major points at issue in a hearing that is now unlikely to be held. The ranking Democrat on the

Anti-monopoly Subcommittee is Senator Philip A. Hart, who comes from the industrial State of Michigan.

Chairman James Eastland of the Judiciary Committee is reported anxious to terminate this subsidiary body which has generated so much controversy.

But the fact that Senator KEFAUVER, a militant liberal with great courage, became persuaded that it was necessary for Congress to move against union power is significant as a portent of a developing viewpoint.

By Representative Richard H. Fulton, of Tennessee

Mr. Speaker, many words of tribute have been written on Senator KEFAUVER since Saturday. At this time I would like to add the editorial tribute paid to this great man by the Washington Post on Sunday, August 11, 1963:

ESTES KEFAUVER

Along with Jackson, Johnson, and Cordell Hull, ESTES KEFAUVER will go down in history as one of the memorable political figures from Tennessee. He was like his great predecessors in his Senate seat in one signal respect. During his 9 years in the House and nearly 15 years in the Senate he seldom took a sectionalist view but responded in national terms to the great issues of his time.

Millions of Americans remember ESTES KEFAUVER as the indefatigable presidential hopeful in 1952 and 1956. His large and open hand was as much a campaign emblem as his coonskin cap. Though he had broad popular support—he won 14 out of 17 primaries in 1952—he incurred the wrath of powerful Democrats through his exposure of underworld contacts with political machines. Even so, his rank-and-file following was large enough to gain him the vice-presidential nomination in 1956.

Senator KEFAUVER was among the first to demonstrate the potency of television in politics. His homely visage and soft voice were fixed in the national mind through the televised hearings of his Senate crime investigation in 1950 and 1951. His courage and independence, no less than his halting manner, left an impression on the country—and also irked some of his colleagues in the Senate inner club.

Every legislature needs individualists as well as team players, and if Mr. KEFAUVER was a loner, his insurgency was directed to important purposes. He boldly risked ostracism by refusing to sign the southern manifesto calling for massive resistance to desegregation. As a champion of consumers, he took on steel companies, big drug firms, and even the administration in the case of the Telstar communications corporation. His Senate Antitrust Subcommittee hearings first familiarized the country with the concept of administered prices, and his relentless effort had much to do with the adoption last year of the drug reform law.

During his years in the House, the lanky Tennessean was especially concerned with problems of procedural reform. Much of

what he said then has become freshly relevant as Congress moves slowly to reconsidering the flaws in its mechanical structure.

In his zeal Mr. KEFAUVER could be mistaken but neither his methods nor his arguments were petty. The fact that he prevailed over the entrenched Crump machine and over envenomed bigots in Tennessee spoke well for his State and his region. He was a big man, and his death leaves a big void.

By Representative Clifford Davis, of Tennessee

Mr. Speaker, many warm tributes have been paid our late colleague, ESTES KEFAUVER, the senior Senator from Tennessee. Edward J. Meeman, editor emeritus of the Press-Scimitar published in Memphis, Tenn., enjoyed a warm and intimate friendship with the Senator. On many, many occasions ESTES sought the counsel and advice of this good and intelligent man. He has paid him a beautiful tribute, and I include that expression of his affection and esteem for the Senator:

KEFAUVER'S HEART BEAT SINCERELY FOR THE WORLD AND ITS PEOPLE

(By Edward J. Meeman)

A great heart has snapped because it tried to do too much. Though he seemed to do it all easily, there must have been a strain which did not show on the surface.

I was one of many whom he took inside that big heart, and I feel that I learned to know it well.

I first met ESTES KEFAUVER when he was Representative in Congress from Chattanooga. What he talked about, and earnestly, was the need of reforming the procedures in Congress, ideas which he expressed in his book "Twentieth Century Congress." Right then and there I decided he was a statesman, for there were few votes to be gained by reforming the rules of Congress.

So when, a little later, he told me that he was going to run for the Senate, and asked me to get some Memphis people together to meet him, I was glad to do so.

He said he would fight Ed Crump, the political boss and dictator of Memphis. "Don't do that," I advised. "One candidate after another has made Crump the issue and that negative policy has failed. Just come to Shelby County and present yourself and your program, appeal to the people for their votes as you have a right to do. Don't fight Crump, but if Crump fights you, as I think he will, fight back."

CRUMP VERSUS KEFAUVER

Crump did blast KEFAUVER, and KEFAUVER fought back. Crump likened KEFAUVER to a pet coon, that goes rummaging in the bureau drawer when you are not looking. "I may be a pet coon," ESTES rejoined, "but I am not Mr. Crump's pet coon." The battle was on.

I learned that ESTES was about to put on a coonskin cap. "Don't do that," I pleaded. Such showmanship was distasteful to me. He ignored my advice, and the whole world knows how effective the stunt was.

KEFAUVER won. The Crump dictatorship which had ruled Memphis with an iron hand, and the State with handpicked Governors and Senators, was smashed though Crump continued to be a political leader of prestige until his death.

A statesman, they say, must first prove himself to be a politician who can get elected. But once elected, KEFAUVER proved that he was at heart a statesman. In order to get the indispensable support of Edmund Orgill, Memphis wholesale hardware merchant, KEFAUVER had to convince Orgill that he was for Atlantic Union, for it was only to advance this cause that Orgill was willing to enter politics.

KEFAUVER did pledge himself to advocate Atlantic Union. But, if he had been merely a politician, how easy it would have been for him to make one speech, introduce a resolution for it, say, "I'm sorry, but you see the time is not ripe," and abandon the effort. But ESTES had become convinced that organic union of the free, democratic nations of North America and Western Europe was necessary to overcome communism. He worked for it, fought for it. When, in campaigns, demagogs attacked him for it, he stood his ground. He was a speaker in demand throughout the country, and he could choose his own subjects, and often he chose to speak in behalf of Atlantic Union. He was the principal architect and the leading American figure in organizing the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, which has been meeting every year since 1955, the Atlantic Congress of 1959 and the Paris Conference of 1961.

FRUITS OF HIS WORK

There is an Atlantic Council at work today, with all three living ex-Presidents, Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, as its honorary chairmen, Gen. Lauris Norstadt as its chairman, and KEFAUVER'S own former administrative assistant, Memphian Richard J. Wallace as its director general, and to KEFAUVER goes the credit for this. The "parliament of man" he achieved before his death; the federation of the free should come soon from causes he set in motion, and be his monument.

KEFAUVER'S exposure of gangsters and his fight on monopoly were spectacular. That he was probably personally acquainted with more people than any other American who ever lived is a distinction.

But I will wager that he will have a great place in history as the statesman, who, more than any other, pioneered in behalf of the federation of the free.

By Senator Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina

Mr. President, I have been asked to read to the Senate a resolution, adopted by the Capitol Hill chapter of the Federal Bar Association, memorializing ESTES KEFAUVER. It is as follows:

RESOLUTION OF CAPITOL HILL CHAPTER, FEDERAL BAR ASSOCIATION, MEMORIALIZING SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER

Whereas the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, the senior Senator from Tennessee, was a founding member of the Capitol Hill chapter of the Federal Bar Association and was dedicated to the chapter aims of holding high the standards of the legal profession in the activities of all members of the bar serving in the legislative branch of our Government; and

Whereas Senator KEFAUVER, by his wise counseling, by his attendance at meetings of the chapter, and participation on panels and at conventions of the association, and by his very exemplary life itself was an inspiration to all members of the bar to more noble achievements toward thoroughness in and justice under the law; and

Whereas Senator KEFAUVER, through his many able writings, addresses, floor debates, and untiring committee activities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, contributed immeasurably to a greater public respect for the law and to an improvement in the functioning of Congress; and

Whereas Senator KEFAUVER, who was a truly great American and a credit to his State and Nation, departed this life on August 10, 1963; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Capitol Hill chapter of the Federal Bar Association hereby in heartfelt and meaningful terms in the spirit and brotherhood of our great profession, pays tribute to the memory of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, able lawyer, statesman, patriot, and friend, and directs the officers of the chapter to make this resolution known to the members of our profession and to the best extent possible to the public at large, and that a copy of it be presented to the family of our late and distinguished member.

Approved by the chapter council, October 17, 1963.

Unanimously adopted at a general meeting October 24, 1963.

ERWIN G. KRASNOW,
President.

Attest:

JAMES E. PALMER, JR.,
Chairman, Memorial Committee.

WALDO MOORE,
Secretary.

By Senator Maurine B. Neuberger, of Oregon

Mr. President, I think that few have better expressed the meaning of a close association with ESTES KEFAUVER than a young man, Victor Ferrall, who served him as counsel on the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee and who pays tribute to him in a forthcoming edition of the Yale Law Report.

I ask that excerpts from this article be printed, together with a poem entitled "The Tennessean," by Kenneth W. Fitzgerald, editor of the Naturopath.

[From the Yale Law Report, vol. 10, No. 1, fall 1963]

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER, 1927

(By Victor E. Ferrall, Jr.)

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER, 1927, a Member of Congress for nearly a quarter of a century, died on August 10, 1963. He was serving his third term as U.S. Senator from Tennessee.

Two days before his death, Senator KEFAUVER suffered a heart attack on the floor of the U.S. Senate. Leading the opposition to a $50 million communications satellites research and development authorization for NASA, he was delivering the opening speech condemning what he considered a calculated giveaway of public funds to the private Communications Satellite Corp. He was commanding, to quote one of his colleagues, the same "little band of willful men" which had filibustered during the last Congress in an unsuccessful effort to block that corporation's creation.

When the attack struck, KEFAUVER paused and in a whispered aside asked a colleague to suggest the absence of a quorum, not asking for it himself so as to avoid losing the floor. When the quorum call was terminated and debate resumed, KEFAUVER, still in obvious discomfort, finished his speech. ESTES KEFAUVER fell with his boots on, protecting his right to the Senate floor. Thirty-six hours later, he was dead.

Russell Baker noted perceptively in the New York Times that there was about KEFAUVER "a quality of introspection so deep that he was most enigmatic to those who knew him best." Not surprisingly, the extraordinarily popular and titillating activity of dissecting the plethora of coonskin caps, handshakes, unpopular causes, and political disappointments in order to discover the "real" or "essential" KEFAUVER has been continued by other writers, but it

is not a profitable pursuit. One is all too likely to be wrong. The probability of penetrating the Kefauver enigma is little or not enhanced by proximity to the man. I shall, therefore, avoid the hypersubjective and consider only those facets of KEFAUVER which I could observe or learn about during the last 3 years.

* * * * *

Though he tried, KEFAUVER was never able to shake off the "crimebuster" label. This monolithic reputation may further have impaired his presidential aspirations, for to be President a man should be free from political overspecialization. To be President it is better to have no image at all than one too sharply defined.

As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, KEFAUVER conducted hearings with restraint and fairness. The procedural polarity between his subcommittee and certain other investigating committees dramatized the dilemma confronting advocates of committee procedural reform. No meaningful legislative restriction is, today, placed on how congressional committees can investigate. This inquisitorial abuse of this absence of formal restraint flows from the true adage that a Senate committee chairman can do anything with unanimous consent and almost anything without it. Nowhere in Government is caprice more thoroughly conduct-determinative than in a congressional committee investigation.

KEFAUVER was a longtime proponent of reform. But, though he shared the deep-rooted American distrust of conscience as an adequate protection of the public interest, he accepted the Wilsonian investigatory function of Congress as fundamental. * * * He, himself, practiced personal restraint at hearings, giving witnesses and their counsel free rein, often to the point of tedium. He substituted tenacity for abuse of constitutional rights.

* * * * *

During the past 8 years—as in all periods of relative opulence—antitrust has been unpopular. Indeed, in an era of "people's capitalism," it may even be that the ability of industrial oligarchs to avoid effective competition is popularly admired.

Without KEFAUVER, antitrust and the preservation of competition would, today, be of far less concern to the public than it is. He kept it before the people with his insistence on the evils of administered prices. Though a confusing and uncertain notion at best, many citizens feel they understand administered prices. It conveys to them a vague notion that in markets where structural oligopoly, production barriers to entry and excessive product differentiation are the rule, the fruits of competition to the consumer are something less than fully ripe. This is true and it was KEFAUVER'S persistence which, in large measure, made the people see it.

* * * * *

Above all, KEFAUVER conceived the ultimate end of competition to be to serve the consumer. Consumers are not a body politic. His approach to competition and antitrust, therefore, enhanced the

unpopularity of his position with his colleagues. Had he subscribed to the better lobbied point of view that competition primarily serves small business, his task would have been far easier.

If, as is commonly observed, KEFAUVER was excluded from the Senate club, this must be attributed as much to his modus operandi as a Senator as to the Lucas incident. A good Senator plays a thoroughly institutionalized "game" with clearly defined rules. As a freshman he keeps out of mischief, does not make major floor speeches, and limits his energies to local matters. He may ask thoughtful, penetrating questions in his committee assignments, but he is retiring and definitely not a leader or spokesman of a particular position—even an approved position.

After a time—perhaps 2 years—he may tackle minor national issues. He is permitted, for example, to become an aspiring champion of heron conservation, antidetergent pollution, or minor agricultural reforms. He may also deliver an occasional speech on major foreign or domestic policy, so long as he does not actively lead legislative actions.

To a very large extent, he must establish himself as a subservient and responsive follower of the Senate's established Senate leaders (vis-a-vis its administration leaders) well into his second term. In the process, of course, he also demonstrates his ability to be reelected and, therefore, probable senatorial longevity.

The Senate's memory is elephantine. If the aspiring Senator stumbles at any point along this long road of restraint, redemption is unlikely. Failure to play the "game" virtually assures exclusion from the club. Lack of club membership radically reduces effectiveness as a lawmaker.

Playing the "game" for 10 or 15 years, however, takes its toll. Surely so much calculated docility drains at least some of the conviction and vigor any Senator brings to the Congress as a freshman. When the "game" is played out, he is better able to implement his beliefs, but has, perhaps, lost some of the inner impetus to do so. The—by international standards—exceptional harmony and tranquility of the Senate is, however, preserved. Whether the Nation is better served by a firebrand or a team player is debatable.

Clearly, though, KEFAUVER, had no doubts on this score. He entered the Senate with an explosion, immediately captured the ear of the Nation, and seldom lost it. * * * As a champion of causes more popular with the people than the Senate—of which there are a substantial number—KEFAUVER was often good for 10 more votes than any other Senator. But, this was seldom enough to win, particularly if KEFAUVER was actively opposed by a full-fledged club member.

* * * * *

In the last 2½ years, KEFAUVER's problems were further enhanced by his New Deal brand of liberalism. He was firmly rooted on the "Old Frontier." A Senator's success in dealing with the administration is by no means assured by his supporting its policies and legislation. Any administration (and I would be inclined to generalize this observation to cover almost all political groups) tends to better understand opposition, be more comfortable in the face of it, and be more willing to make concessions to gain its support, than it is willing to reward reliable followers. KEFAUVER's voting record from the administration's point of view was very good. But, had he been more cunning and a better trader in the way he cast his votes, he might well have received more administration support.

Politicians, living in a world of outstretched hands, are not comfortable with a person who helps them until they feel confident that they have identified his selfish motivation. Selfless support emanating from idealism rather than more pragmatic interests, make politicians nervous. KEFAUVER, though no exception to this rule, was himself guilty of obscuring his ends. Though he enjoyed enormous political autonomy in Tennessee, he had not become a patriarchal statesman or "taken the overview," remaining until his death actively political. He was clearly not running for President or the Supreme Court. Thus, "What is he up to now?" was the question which plagued the Senate each time KEFAUVER plunged into a new area of political unpopularity and danger.

It was his high political morality that compounded the Senate's discomfort with KEFAUVER. I suppose the ultimately politically moral man is the martyr. The martyr's credo—"No matter what you say or do, I will waver neither from the ends I seek nor the means which I have chosen"—defines the borderline between personal incorruptibility and political stalemate. Incorruptible dedication to both ends and means is philosophically attractive, but anathema to political action.

* * * * *

KEFAUVER sought and seriously considered the advice of a perfectly astonishing potpourri of corporation counsels and Capitol Hill policemen, laborers, and landowners. With respect to listening to advice, he was unalterably antifree competition. The highest bid always lost—the lowest often won. Whether this is good or bad from the longrun point of view of an effective legislature, I do not know. There can be no question, however, that KEFAUVER was unfailingly, unflinchingly honest.

As a politician, KEFAUVER genuinely led the people of his State. No one doubts that he did far more than merely mirror the popular positions in Tennessee.

* * * * *

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

Insofar as the people of Tennessee outstrip the South in liberality, it is, in large measure, because they were led by Estes Kefauver. Together with Cordell Hull he helped make Tennessee, for example, one of the most internationally minded States in the South. Through his leadership, the State came to share his appreciation for the message of free competition. And, because he was a true leader, his popular mandate was overwhelming.

I suspect few Congressmen, in their innermost being, genuinely trust "the people." Kefauver did. "Let the people know the truth and they will do the right thing," was not an empty aphorism for him. His campaign to bring television into the Senate gallery was an act of faith.

The above exercise in objectivity notwithstanding, I will remember Estes Kefauver with an outstretched hand, uncomfortably looking at a friend, suspecting he knew him too well to shake his hand—and probably had just shaken it, anyway. I will picture him in his cluttered office, simultaneously mastering a complicated nicety of antitrust law with incredible mental agility, trying to remember whether monopolization comes under section 1 or section 2 of the Sherman Act, and wondering if someone had sent the electric toaster he had had repaired back down to Aunt Charlotte in Madisonville. I will see him shuffling through an airport in his braces and shirt sleeves, carrying two briefcases, a bag of coats from the drycleaners he forgot to drop off at home, three newspapers, a box of cookies old Miss Jones gave him to take to the children, and a paper cup filled with heaven knows what. In my mind's ear, I will hear him laugh. He was the only man I ever met who laughted "ho, ho," exactly as it is written.

I would suppose that most great men are hard to know. Surely, however, few are so very hard not to love as Estes Kefauver.

[From the Naturopath, September 1963]

The Tennessean

He stood this man—
His brow brushing the misty aloofness of the stars—
He stood, alone and firm,
A man of metal and of heart—a man apart.
He stood high
And he stood strong in a lusty realm where the resolute alone belong.
He stood—with courage and with faith—
Unshaken by the wanton kiss of joy, the bitter lash of sorrow.
He stood tall—
This man whose world was big—
This man
Whose massive shoulders nudged the promise of tomorrow!

—Kenneth W. Fitzgerald.

By Senator Milton R. Young, of North Dakota

Mr. President, one of the nicest tributes that has come to my attention was given to our late colleague by the city of Fargo. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted as a part of my remarks a resolution adopted by the Fargo City Commission and a letter from Fargo's very distinguished mayor, Herschel Lashkowitz.

CITY OF FARGO, N. DAK.,
September 16, 1963.

Hon. MILTON R. YOUNG,
U.S. Senator,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR YOUNG: I enclose herein a resolution which was prepared by myself and was adopted by the Fargo City Commission expressing our heartfelt sympathy on the untimely passing of that great American, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER.

We here in Fargo, N. Dak., felt particularly close to Senator KEFAUVER because of his many visits over the years in which he established strong and enduring friendships. We also recall with deep appreciation the efforts that he exerted in behalf of our city in 1957 when our community was stricken with the great tornado disaster of that year.

Senator KEFAUVER has left an indelible mark upon those who were privileged to know him. American history will record him as one of the genuine humanitarians of our time, a man who placed principal above political expediency in all of his public actions.

I sincerely hope that the enclosed certified copy of the resolution adopted by the Fargo City Commission will be placed in the Congressional Record together with this letter so that Americans everywhere can be reminded of the highest esteem and affection in which ESTES KEFAUVER was held by the people of the city of Fargo, N. Dak.

Sincerely yours,

HERSCHEL LASHKOWITZ,
Mayor.

RESOLUTION OF BOARD OF CITY COMMISSIONERS, FARGO, N. DAK., AUGUST 20, 1963

President Lashkowitz offered the following resolution and moved its adoption:

"Be it resolved by the Board of City Commissioners of the City of Fargo:

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, distinguished senior U.S. Senator from the State of Tennessee, has passed on to his eternal rest unexpectedly shocking and saddening the entire Nation and freemen everywhere; and

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, during his lifetime, distinguished himself as the foremost fighter for good clean government and was renown as a fighter for the rights of the individual human being without regard to race, color, or creed; and

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER waged a couraegous lifelong battle against injustice and human suffering and fought continually for a better society for all mankind; and

"Whereas the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, during the course of his distinguished career, visited the city of Fargo, N. Dak., on many occasions and had earned the admiration, respect, and friendship of many citizens of our city, including Mayor Herschel Lashkowitz, who in 1952 earnestly fought to advance Senator KEFAUVER to the Presidency of the United States and received the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER at a historic gathering in the Red River Valley near Buxton, N. Dak., at which nearly 30,000 people were in attendance, at which time Senator KEFAUVER convinced the people of this area of his knowledge and understanding of our problems and of his deep interest and concern for the well-being of this area; and

"Whereas, in the year 1957, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER earnestly and devotedly took the floor of the U.S. Senate championing the cause of disaster stricken Fargo and its recovery efforts following the tornado disaster of 1957; and

"Whereas Senator ESTES KEFAUVER at all times responded to the needs of those in distress wherever the call may emanate and served nobly, courageously, and at great sacrifice to his own health and personal comfort; and

"Whereas it is the considered feeling of the Fargo City Commission that ESTES KEFAUVER has earned himself a secure niche in the history of our country as a great American statesman who served his beloved Nation and the cause of mankind with rare devotion and was indeed the very embodiment of the essence of American patriotism and was rightfully recognized as a friend of all mankind in the continuing human struggle for a better society for

each and every individual human being no matter where he lives; Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Fargo City Commission does hereby express their deep and profound sorrow and sadness upon the untimely passing of that great American statesman, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, who had endeared himself to the people of this area and the city of Fargo by his many acts of friendship and loyalty as manifested throughout the years; and be it further

"Resolved, That this expression of sorrow upon the passing of our beloved friend, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, be spread upon the permanent minutes of the Fargo City Commission and that certified copies be forwarded to the family of our dear friend, the Honorable ESTES KEFAUVER, and that copies be furnished to the presiding officer of the U.S. Senate, the congressional delegation of the State of North Dakota for introduction into the Congressional Record and also to the Governor of the State of Tennessee and to the two U.S. Senators from the State of Tennessee, with the request that this resolution be called to the attention of the Tennessee Legislature and the press, radio, and television of the State of Tennessee."

Second by McCannel. On the vote being taken on the question of the adoption of the resolution, Commissioners Markey, Oakey, Lashkowitz, and McCannel all voted "aye."

Absent and not voting: Commissioner Hagen.

The acting vice president declared the resolution to have been duly passed and adopted.

HERSCHEL LASKOWITZ,
Mayor and President, Board of City Commissioners, Fargo, N. Dak.

Attest:

M. C. FREMSTAD,
Deputy City Auditor.

By Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, of Texas

Mr. President, many tributes were written about ESTES KEFAUVER after he died. I want to insert two of them—two that were written by the working people he loved. They were written about a man they loved and trusted. He was worthy of their trust; he was worthy of America's pride and trust.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed an article entitled "ESTES KEFAUVER—A Gallant Champion," published in the Retail Clerk's International Advocate for September 1963, and an article entitled "Champion of Rail Workers: KEFAUVER's Death a Great Loss to Labor and Nation," published in Labor, an international weekly newspaper, of August 17, 1963.

[From the Retail Clerks International Advocate, September 1963]

ESTES KEFAUVER—"A GALLANT CHAMPION"

Members of the RCIA join the Nation in mourning the death of ESTES KEFAUVER, U.S. Senator, twice an aspirant for the office of President, and a steadfast friend of the union member, the consumer—the ordinary citizen.

His courage and conviction forged a close bond between Senator KEFAUVER and the officers and members of the Retail Clerks International Association that endured for many years until his death at 60.

As a featured speaker at the Diamond Jubilee Year Convention held in Chicago in June, as well as at the 22d International Convention in New York City in 1951, he was attentively listened to and warmly received.

His remarks illustrated his character and outlook as well as expressed the warm friendship shared between him and the RCIA.

His philosophy of fair treatment of working men and women was summed up at the New York City convention of the RCIA:

"We feel that labor is not entitled to any special consideration, any special advantage, but that you are entitled to an equal status, an equal opportunity, and that you are entitled to have laws that are going to treat you fairly.

"Seeing that that is done is a determination which many of us are not going to forget, and it will be done whenever we have the

votes and the strength which we are rapidly gaining in the Congress of the United States to bring that about."

Senator KEFAUVER's public record was a measure of the man. He fought against the Taft-Hartley Act and fought hard for the extension of the minimum wage law to retailing and an increase in the minimum. He fought for the Tennessee Valley Authority and was the scourge of organized crime.

His greatest achievement perhaps was the Kefauver drug law passed last year, giving comprehensive protection and assurance to the purchasers of prescription drugs.

At the time of his death he was working to extend the protections guaranteed to consumers by the Federal Government. At the 24th International Convention in Chicago he urged support for a Federal Council of Consumers:

"From the other side of the counter, the consumer's side, there is also a need for action at the Federal Government level. Businessmen have their Department of Commerce; workers have their Department of Labor; and farmers, though their number is dwindling, still have their Department of Agriculture.

"Yet nowhere in the Federal Government is there any official, independent voice for the consumer—and that term applies to just about everybody these days.

"I am sponsoring a bill, along with 27 other Senators, to establish a Consumer Council. The idea would be that consideration would be given at the top level of government to the points of view of the consumer."

The tall Tennessean was frequently compared to Andrew Jackson, who also came from that State. Through their homespun outlook and their championing of the cause of the common man—as well as their unreserved acceptance by the voters—they met on common ground.

After death Senator KEFAUVER returned to his birthplace, Madisonville, Tenn. His simple burial there was fitting for a statesman who had never lost touch with the people.

He was born there on July 26, 1903, the son of a dairy farmer and hardware dealer who was the town's mayor.

He entered politics on a State level in 1938 and was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1939. Reelected four times, he entered the Senate in 1949, serving continuously until his death.

KEFAUVER made an unsuccessful bid to become the Democratic presidential nominee in 1952 and 1956 and was chosen as vice presidential candidate in 1956 to team with Adlai Stevenson who headed the Democratic slate that year.

At the conclusion of KEFAUVER'S address to the RCIA convention in June 1951, International President Suffridge thanked the Senator in words that are appropriate as an epitaph:

"I think all of us know and realize the background of the Senator who just spoke to us. We know him as a man who has the warmth of a Lincoln, a man who has the foresight and vision of an F.D.R., and a man who has the integrity of a Jefferson."

[From Labor, International Weekly Newspaper, Aug. 17, 1963]

CHAMPION OF RAILWORKERS: KEFAUVER'S DEATH A GREAT LOSS TO LABOR AND NATION

Railroad workers and all other Americans suffered a heavy loss last week when Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, died in a Washington hospital. A heart attack which at first seemed mild proved fatal.

KEFAUVER, 60, literally worked himself to death for the public good. In his last 2 days, he led a group of liberal Senators in a strenuous but losing fight against another giveaway—this time of $44 million of the taxpayers' money, to the Communications Satellite Corp., dominated by giant American Telephone Co.

After long and hot debate, the Senate passed a $5.5 billion Space Agency authorization bill with the $44 million in it.

KEFAUVER was serving his third term in the Senate and had previously been in the House for 10 years. In his election campaigns, the whole-hearted support of railroad labor and the union movement as a whole helped him overcome powerful opposition by selfish and sometimes sinister interests, who hated him for his courage and independence.

BATTLING FOR RAILMEN

In this session of the Senate, KEFAUVER was pushing his bill to declare a "moratorium" on railroad mergers until December 31, 1964, so as to give Congress time to study the shattering effects of the huge mergers on rail employment and the public interest.

Also, he cosponsored legislation for an investigation of railroad finances and ownership. And he cosponsored a resolution for continued negotiations in the big rail work rules dispute under the eye of a watchdog committee of Congress.

These latest actions by KEFAUVER are typical of the helpful hand he has given to railworkers and labor as a whole many times in the past.

Son of a pioneer Tennessee family, KEFAUVER won fame as an athlete at the State's university, and was elected president of the student body. He worked his way through Yale Law School, taught

and practiced law in Chattanooga, helped win the fight for TVA, and was active in local and State civic affairs until he was elected to the U.S. House, where he served with great distinction.

EXPOSED UNDERWORLD

After moving up to the Senate, KEFAUVER gained national renown by his investigation of organized crime and its corrupting effects on public morals and politics. Lords of the underworld, and some political leaders, never forgave him for that, and contributed lavishly to the campaign funds of some of his opponents in later elections. Nevertheless, KEFAUVER always won.

By 1952, KEFAUVER had gained such national stature that he won 14 of the 17 State presidential primaries, but he lost out to Adlai Stevenson in the party nominating convention. The same thing happened in the 1956 presidential campaign, but he was chosen then as vice-presidential nominee.

FOUGHT MONOPOLISTS

Always a leading fighter for consumers and against monopolists and price fixers, KEFAUVER conducted famed probes of price rigging in the steel, electrical equipment, drug and other industries. He succeeded in putting new "teeth" in the antitrust laws and stronger controls over marketing of drugs after the shocking thalidomide scandal broke.

The latest result of his battles in the drug field came on the day he died. The Federal Trade Commission ruled that six big drug manufacturers "conspired to raise and fix prices on tetracycline, the leading antibiotic drug, with sales over $100 million a year."

Success of this illegal conspiracy, the FTC said, was made possible by a patent which Chas. Pfizer & Co., a giant of the drug industry, obtained by deceiving the U.S. Patent Office. KEFAUVER, in his reports on his drug probe, always emphasized that misuse of patents is a main foundation for the monopolistic system which makes old and ill people pay exorbitant prices for prescription drugs.

MANY TRIBUTES

Messages of tribute to KEFAUVER poured in from all over the Nation. Foremost among these was one by President Kennedy. He declared that KEFAUVER's "devotion to the public interest and the welfare of the people made him a powerful influence." Kennedy added that his death "deprived the Nation of one of its most distinguished leaders."

Some words spoken by one of Shakespeare's characters might well be applied to ESTES KEFAUVER: "He was a man, take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again."

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

By Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr., of New Jersey

Mr. President, on August 14 the Senate passed the National Service Corps bill after many very pertinent statements were made in its support. One eloquent speech, however, was not delivered. The Senator who was to have made it believed in this program with every ounce of his formidable fund of perceptiveness and courage.

That colleague was Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. Death has silenced the voice that was raised so often for so many fine causes. He had meant to participate. He had intended to put himself once more on the record. He had planned to discuss one proposed Corps project in his home State.

Although he could not give this speech, I believe that the record of the Senate debate on the National Service Corps would not be complete without it. The late Senator from Tennessee has left us many fine statements expressing his compassion and humanity. Here is one more that should be read by all who admire him.

Mr. President, when the legislation establishing the Peace Corps was before the Senate, many doubts as to its effectiveness were raised. We now have pending before this body S. 1321, which establishes a National Service Corps, called by many, a Domestic Peace Corps. In view of the success of the Peace Corps in foreign countries, we can readily see how effective a similar endeavor would be within our own country.

Although the United States is the most affluent country in the world, with a great abundance of human and material resources, it has been estimated that over 30 million Americans are plagued by poverty, deprivation, and despair. That means that one in every six of our citizens lives on submarginal income, and lacks either the skills, the ability or the motivation to overcome his problems.

The National Service Corps would attack these problems. The program would help to bring about a concerted nationwide attack on the cause of this poverty and despair. There are, of course, many programs, public and private, directed at the results of distress. But this program would be a call to all citizens to do something about the causes.

The establishment of the National Service program would not mean Federal intervention in problems which should be the sole concern of the States and local communities. The National Service Corps would respond only to local invitation. At all times it would cooperate with and be supervised by its local sponsoring groups. The Corps would supply and support trained and qualified men and women volunteers, while the local community would bear the primary responsibility for the administration and supervision of a project and the provision of necessary materials.

A proposed project in my State of Tennessee illustrates well the need of this legislation and how effective the National Service Corps could be. In Overton and Fentress Counties, in the Cumberland Plateau in Tennessee, there is a mining area known as Crawford Mountain. All major mines have closed long ago, but the people in the community still try to make a meager living working small doghole mines.

These two counties, with a population of 28,000, have only two public health nurses and the nearest doctor is 25 miles away. With most persons having less than 8 years of education and earning an annual income of less than $2,000, they have very little knowledge of health programs and can afford a doctor only in the case of a very serious illness.

A project proposed by a local group in that area would send into the community a team composed of a public health nurse and a health educator. The nurse could alleviate the problem of insufficient medical care in the community while the health educator could organize health facilities, make the people aware of the existing facilities, and teach the people how to use these facilities.

Mr. President, just two persons, in the opinion of the local leaders who would sponsor the project, would do much to alleviate the serious health problems which now exist in their community. The National Service Corps would be very helpful and is seriously needed in such communities as this, in Tennessee, and across the entire country.

Mr. President, I urge strong support from my colleagues on both sides of the aisle for this program, in order to benefit the millions of our unfortunate citizens who, amid our affluent Nation, struggle with poverty, deprivation, and despair.

Mr. President, I ask consent to have printed several editorials by New Jersey writers, as follows:

[From the Newark News, Newark, N.J., Aug. 11, 1963]

CRUSADER

ESTES KEFAUVER was far more than a homespun presidential aspirant in a funny coonskin hat. Behind that folksy packaging

there was hard iron. Ask the racket boys whose way of life he disrupted by exposure of their underworld apparatus. They will not forget the Senator from Tennessee.

Nor will the law-abiding public. New Jersey and particularly Bergen County benefited from the Kefauver crime hearings and so did the whole country. Bergen's gambling cleanup was one response to Senator KEFAUVER'S call for a war on the underworld.

He exposed gambling as the base for organized crime. "The $2 horse player and the 5-cent numbers player are not only gambling against hopeless odds," he declared, "they are also sending young people into drug addiction and young girls into prostitution. They are undermining our most sacred institutions."

The country will miss the gentleman from Tennessee.

[From the Atlantic City Press, Aug. 13, 1963]

KEFAUVER TO BE LONG REMEMBERED HERE

A courageous public champion has been taken from the national scene by the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

The tall Tennessean with the folksy, homespun manner, twice aspired to the Democratic presidential nomination and made an unsuccessful race for the Vice Presidency. He was a formidable candidate and the coonskin cap became the emblem of his grassroots campaigning.

He perhaps will be best remembered as a fervent crusader against crime and monopoly. He was chairman of the Senate Crime Investigating Committee in 1951, when it conducted televised hearings that thrilled millions with closeups of big time racket chiefs, gamblers, and hoodlums who were among the witneses.

Atlantic City did not escape the penetrating searchlight of the crimebuster. The committee delved into gambling operations at the shore and the implications constituted a lurid chapter which the resort would prefer to forget.

The bespectacled Senator with the southern drawl visited the city on more auspicious occasions as a convention speaker.

In recent years he had been in the public eye principally through his chairmanship of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee.

By a curious coincidence, his death came at a time when this area is again the scene of an investiagtion—this time by agents of the Internal Revenue Service.

Whatever else may be said about Senator KEFAUVER, he was a man of high principles and repeatedly refused to compromise them

for political gain. He devoted his energies to the public service until his heart gave out at the age of 60.

As President Kennedy put it, the Senator's death "has deprived the Nation of one of its most distinguished leaders * * *. His devotion to the public interest made him a powerful influence for good in our Nation's affairs."

[From the Trenton (N.J.) Sunday Times-Advertiser, Aug. 11, 1963]

THE TALL SENATOR IN THE COONSKIN CAP WAS ALWAYS HIS OWN MAN

(By Sam Fogg)

WASHINGTON.—Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, who died yesterday, came out of Tennessee's farm country to combat big city vice lords and business monopolies and twice seek the Presidency.

It was as the crusading chairman of a Senate Crime Investigating Committee that KEFAUVER first sprang to national prominence. The widely televised hearings were marked by KEFAUVER prodding away in a soft Tennessee drawl and getting surly, defiant responses from such crime kingpins as Frank Costello.

He first bid unsuccessfully for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1952. He made the Daniel Boone coonskin cap his symbol and as a campaigner showed an almost insatiable zest for handshaking.

At the nominating convention, however, he was passed over for the then Illinois Governor Stevenson. He was opposed by southern politicos who disliked his moderate racial rights views and by northern city bosses who felt that his crime exposures had hurt them locally.

KEFAUVER's presidential ambitions stayed afire. In 1956 he directly challenged Stevenson's bid for renomination and the two met in a series of head-to-head primary battles. KEFAUVER won in such States as Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Maryland but was crushed in the more pivotal primaries in California, Oregon, and Florida.

Stevenson, on his renomination, declared the choice of his vice presidential running mate an open race. KEFAUVER won it in a close battle with a young Senate colleague.

The Stevenson-Kefauver ticket was swamped as Dwight D. Eisenhower won his second term by a wide margin. From then on, KEFAUVER moved to the back of the national political stage.

He devoted himself mainly to the chairmanship of the Senate Antimonopoly Subcommittee, championing the cause of the Nation's consumers. He demonstrated the same crusading vigor in denouncing the prices of drugs as he had in castigating the criminals that had once appeared before him.

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

The tall Tennessean had always championed the underdog and had pursued an independent course during his 24 years as a House Member and Senator.

When he first ran for the Senate in 1948, Memphis Democratic Boss Edward H. Crump, had taunted KEFAUVER as the "pet coon" of newspaper publisher Silliman Evans.

KEFAUVER promptly brought forth a coonskin cap and told his audiences: "There might be a ring around the tail but none through the nose."

HANDSHAKE CHAMP

KEFAUVER made the handshake a potent political weapon. He would shake hundreds of hands a day on and off the campaign trail.

But the key to his personality was his underdog role. He championed the man in the street in his battles against crime, and monopolistic practices.

KEFAUVER always had his eye on the White House. His failure to win the presidential nomination in 1952 and 1956 was a bitter pill.

But he staged an all-out fight at an "open convention" to win the vice presidential nod from delegates to the 1956 Democratic Convention.

Any lingering bitterness he may have had over the failure to win the presidential spot never showed during the Stevenson campaign.

As Stevenson's running mate he threw himself into the drive for a Democratic victory with the same tireless, folksy manner that had won him so much support from the rank and file in the past.

KEFAUVER was always somewhat of an outcast among his Senate colleagues and anathema among the party leaders.

Much of the distrust goes back to the very event that propelled KEFAUVER into millions of American homes—the nationally televised crime hearings he sponsored in 1950.

The party leaders never quite forgave the freshman Senator for quickly gaining a reputation as a "crimebuster" and were convinced that the hearings contributed to Democratic defeats in some States in 1952.

When he first came to Congress as a House Member in 1939 he established himself as an internationally minded liberal. He was 1 of 10 Members of the House named by a national magazine for outstanding work in 1946.

KEFAUVER was born July 26, 1903, at Madison, Tenn., where his family had lived for generations. He attended a one-room school there and as a boy worked in his father's hardware store and on his farm.

At the University of Tennessee, he worked his way through college and was on the football and track squads. The 6-foot-3-inch, 200-pound Senator always deprecated his athletic powers, however.

He entered Yale Law School and worked his way to a law degree by waiting tables and firing furnaces.

After practicing law in Chattanooga, KEFAUVER entered politics on a modest scale. Just before his first election to the House, he served as State commissioner of finance and taxation.

He married Nancy Pigott, a vivacious Scottish girl, in 1935. Their children are David, Diane, Eleanor, and Gail.

In recent years, KEFAUVER's activities had focused on the chairmanship of the Senate Antimonopoly Subcommittee which conducted a wide range of hearings into reports of pricing fixing and on a wide variety of antitrust matters.

KEFAUVER's hearings on the controversial Dixon-Yates power contract publicized the circumstances under which private power companies planned to build a steam generating plant in West Memphis, Ark., to channel power into the TVA network for use by the Atomic Energy Commission. The contract was subsequently canceled.

The subcommittee's pricing inquiry also dealt extensively with drug prices, and its hearings were in part responsible for congressional actions which tightened up on the drug industry.

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

By Senator Vance Hartke, of Indiana

Mr. President, on July 26, 1963, ESTES KEFAUVER'S 60th birthday, he was presented with a scroll by the National Committee for a Representative Congress which paid tribute to his many years of distinguished service to the people of Tennessee and the Nation.

The sentiments expressed in this scroll so well mirror my own feelings about the man and the work he did, that I ask unanimous consent to have the text of the scroll printed as follows:

To HON. ESTES KEFAUVER, U.S. SENATOR

Presentation of this scroll is made for an outstanding record of distinguished service as a U.S. Senator in—

Adhering steadfastly to the principles of representative government;

Rendering highly constructive services to the people of Tennessee, faithfully and vigorously representing their ideals and objectives and making many important contributions to welfare, progress, and betterment of that State;

Standing forth as a fighting champion of true democracy to make and keep our Government "of the people, by the people, and for the people"—and striving also untiringly for the benefit of all mankind to bring about advancement of peace, freedom, justice, and a better way of life in all nations of the world;

In dedicating his life work to the cause of humanity, to the firm conviction that every man is his brother, that government should protect the helpless weak from the selfish strong, that laws must serve the greatest good for the greatest number;

In living daily his love and faith for God, for country, for family, and for fellowmen—a stranger to anger, hate or selfishness, a modern apostle of gentleness, patience, kindliness, tolerance, and warmth;

In establishing a brilliant record, to long endure, of high public service as a great American, a great Senator, a great Christian, a great crusader against evils and injustices—a great man of unwavering honesty and integrity, unfaltering courage and energy, yet humble and modest in his greatness, who asks of life but the simple privilege of continuing to love and work as a good

friend, a good neighbor, a good and useful public servant of each and every American, and of all people of this earth.

(Text of this scroll was prepared by Charles Kress, former mayor of Binghamton, N.Y., a close friend of Senator KEFAUVER, associated with the Senator in the Senate Crime Investigation Committee, for presentation to Senator KEFAUVER on his 60th birthday, July 26, 1963.)

By Senator Thomas J. Dodd, of Connecticut

Mr. President, all Senators in the Senate were deeply saddened by the sudden death of our esteemed colleague, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

A very moving tribute to Senator KEFAUVER was adopted earlier this month by the Fifth Constitutional Convention of the Connecticut Labor Council, AFL–CIO, and I believe one part of this resolution sums up very well the impact his life and his death has had on so many of us:

> All of America and all of the organized labor movement of this country is both the richer because of his lifetime service to the United States and the poorer because of his sad and untimely death.

On behalf of my distinguished colleague from Connecticut, Senator Ribicoff, and myself, I ask unanimous consent to have this resolution printed. It is as follows:

RESOLUTION ON ESTES KEFAUVER

Whereas death has taken from our midst Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, a man who served his country with unusual dedication, tremendous devotion, and unequaled patriotism; and

Whereas ESTES KEFAUVER was a true humanitarian, a firm disciple of democracy, a defender of consumer interests, and a warm and abiding friend of labor; and

Whereas all of America and all of the organized labor movement of this country is both the richer because of his lifetime service to the United States and the poorer because of his said and untimely death: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Convention of the Connecticut State Labor Council express its great admiration for the contribution which ESTES KEFAUVER made to the commonwealth of the American people, and to the level of performance of the U.S. Senate, and its sorrow at the foreshortening of his illustrious career; and that copies of this resolution be sent to the family of Senator KEFAUVER, and to our two Senators from Connecticut for transmittal to the U.S. Senate.

By Representative John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the following letter and resolution:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D.C., September 4, 1963.

The SPEAKER,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: The AFL–CIO executive council recently adopted a resolution of tribute to the late Senator and former Congressman ESTES KEFAUVER.

In this resolution, the executive council resolved that a copy of this tribute should be transmitted to the Congress of the United States. A copy of the resolution is attached. I would appreciate it if you would have it printed in the Congressional Record.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE MEANY,
President.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AUGUST 12, 1963, UNITY HOUSE, PA., BY THE AFL–CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Whereas death has taken from our midst Senator ESTES KEFAUVER of Tennessee, a man who served his country with unusual dedication, tremendous devotion, and unequaled patriotism; and

Whereas ESTES KEFAUVER was a true humanitarian, a firm disciple of democracy, a defender of consumer interests, and a warm and abiding friend of labor; and

Whereas all of America and all of the organized labor movement of this country is both the richer because of his lifetime service to the United States and the poorer because of his sad and untimely death: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the AFL–CIO executive council, which last February unanimously chose ESTES KEFAUVER to receive the Murray-Green Award of the AFL–CIO for his great services to the cause of humanity, joins its fellow Americans in mourning the passing of this great Senator; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFL–CIO executive council hereby determines that its Murray-Green Award will be given to the Senator posthumously; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions testifying to our great admiration, our deep sense of gratitude and our overwhelming sorrow be spread upon the records of the AFL–CIO executive council and that true copies be transmitted to the family of the late and great Senator whom we join in mourning his death, and to the Congress of the United States.

George Meany, President; Wm. F. Schnitzler, Secretary Treasury; Walter P. Reuther, Wm. C. Birthright, David J. McDonald, Joseph Curran, Joseph D. Keenan, Richard F. Walsh, James A. Suffridge, Paul L. Phillips, Paul Hall, George M. Harrison, James B. Carey, Emil Rieve, Maurice A Hutcheson, Jacob S. Potofsky, Lee W. Minton, O. A. Knight, Peter T. Schoemann, Herman D. Kenin, Harry C. Bates, David Dubinsky, Wm. L. McFetridge, A. J. Hayes, A. Philip Randolph, Joseph A. Beirne, Karl F. Feller, L. M. Raftery, Executive Council.

By Senator Frank Church, of Idaho

Mr. President, last Thursday, the business of the Senate was suspended to permit the delivery of memorial addresses on the life, character, and public service of ESTES KEFAUVER, late a Senator from the State of Tennessee. Since it was not possible for me to be here at that time, I wish now to speak a few words in tribute to our friend and colleague.

My quarters in the Old Senate Office Building are directly across the hall from the space lately occupied by ESTES KEFAUVER. Soon after his last successful canvass of the Tennessee electorate, I remember stepping from my office to identify an unusual clapping sound coming from the corridor outside. It was applause. Both sides of the corridor were lined with staff people—my own, the staff people of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], as well as KEFAUVER's own associates—who had turned out to greet the Senator as he strode from the elevator to his desk. This tribute, rare indeed, in the workaday world of the Senate Office Building, must have given ESTES a precious memory. The event, spontaneously set in motion by those who knew him best, could never have happened to a public idol with feet of clay.

My own closest association with ESTES KEFAUVER came as the result of our joint efforts in behalf of the resolution authorizing the Atlantic Citizens Convention. With courage and singlemindedness he worked to advance the cause of Atlantic Union, in the House and in the Senate, in good times and in bad. This aspect of Senator KEFAUVER's public service is well noted in a tribute to him by Elmo Roper, which I ask to have printed.

KEFAUVER: THE IRREPLACEABLE MAN

(By Elmo Roper)

Most of us have been reared to believe that there is no such thing as the indispensable man—and yet somehow words approximating those must be found to describe Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. Certainly the phrase which all those who labored for Atlantic Union can agree to is that he was the irreplaceable man.

CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER

In writing about ESTES KEFAUVER, it's hard to know where to begin. Perhaps one should begin with his courage. He never hesitated to take an unpopular position when he believed it was the right one. He was the first man in the Congress of the United States to take a public stand for Atlantic Union—at a time when such a view made him solitary indeed. Born in the Old South, he was uncompromisingly devoted to equal rights for Negroes. However much one might have disagreed with any of his views, I doubt if anyone can be found who would deny that most of his positions required courage of the highest order.

But one might as easily begin with his loyalty, his steadfastness. Over the years he never wavered in his support of Atlantic Union, publicly or privately. Called a nigger loving one worlder, in the middle of a hot political campaign, he took the epithet calmly in stride and retreated not an inch from his convictions. Everything he ever told me he would do, during the long battle for congressional acceptance of the idea of an Atlantic Citizens Convention, he did. In a profession of easy promises, he kept every one.

Yet a very good case could be made that the first thing one should mention in connection with Senator KEFAUVER was his vision. Many years ago he realized that rivers, mountains and oceans, color of the skin and religion were unnatural boundaries for governments. To let any of them assume the unnatural importance they have come to have in this 20th century was to invite—at worst—continued wars and—at best—continued costly rivalries. In a world shrunken by fast transportation and faster communications and where men know how to destroy centuries of civilization in minutes, some stronger cement was needed to bind men together. To ESTES KEFAUVER that more binding cement was a belief in the dignity of every human being. On that foundation, he would have built a broader, more enduring government than this planet has ever seen.

Perhaps the underlying sources of ESTES KEFAUVER'S strength was his ability to stand alone. During his time in the Senate, he never did anything out of a desire to become a member of the club nor did he tailor his views to assure reelection to that exclusive body. He was guided solely by the inner force of his own reasoning powers—which were formidable, coonskin cap to the contrary. No outer force had the power to alter his convictions—or his actions. I suppose what I am describing is, very simply, a man of complete integrity.

Yet there was nothing out of character in ESTES KEFAUVER'S walking up the streets of little towns all over America and greeting people with, "I am ESTES KEFAUVER; I am running for the Presidency and I would like to have your support." He was in tune with the aspirations of all mankind—even though he was one of mankind's most exceptional products.

And for many of us, grief over the death of a great man is compounded by the fact that he was to our cause the irreplaceable man.

Mr. President, ESTES KEFAUVER had many friends in Idaho, men, and women who gave him their commitment when he was a candidate for the Presidency. The history of the fifties cannot now be rewritten, but appropriate to ESTES KEFAUVER are the words spoken by Horatio of the fallen Prince Hamlet:

For he was likely, had he been put on, to have prov'd most royally.

By Senator Ernest Gruening, of Alaska

Mr. President, last Thursday the Senate devoted its session to paying tributes to one whom I consider one of its alltime great Senators, ESTES KEFAUVER, and I was proud to be among those who spoke. The tributes that poured forth from our colleagues were eloquent testimony not only to the esteem and admiration in which ESTES was held but demonstrated the wide range of his activities, invariably in behalf of the public interest and for a better world.

I ask that an article from the October issue of the publication Freedom and Union, entitled "How Kefauver Submitted First Atlantic Convention Bill," be included.

[From Freedom and Union, October 1963]

HOW KEFAUVER SUBMITTED FIRST ATLANTIC CONVENTION BILL

Senator KEFAUVER introduced in the Senate the first Atlantic Union resolution (S. Con. Res. 57) on July 26, 1949, on behalf of 20 Senators, a bipartisan group which grew to 21 a little later when Senator Hubert Humphrey (now assistant majority leader) joined it. It comprised 14 Democrats and 7 Republicans—the latter including Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

The identical resolution was introduced the same day in the House, where its leaders thought it better strategy to limit sponsorship to these five: Hale Boggs (Democrat of Louisiana, now assistant majority leader), Clifford Davis, Democrat of Tennessee; Walter H. Judd, Republican of Minnesota; George A. Smathers, Democrat of Florida; now a Senator; and James W. Wadsworth, Republican of New York.

Of the 26 who cosponsored the resolution in both Houses only 8 now remain in Congress: Senators Fulbright (now chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee), Lister Hill, Humphrey, Smathers, John J. Sparkman, Milton R. Young, and Representatives Boggs and Davis. In reporting the introduction of the resolution, the September 1949 Freedom and Union said:

"The first official step toward union of the free has been taken, at long last. * * * Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, pioneer free federalist in Congress, introduced this resolution * * * on behalf of the largest number in that body to back any proposal in this field. The group is impressive for its quality, too. Outstanding among the

influential leaders in it is Senator Walter F. George, Democrat, of Georgia, rated as one of the three most powerful men in the Senate.

"He is not only chairman of its important Finance Committee but ranks next to Chairman Connally in the Foreign Relations Committee to which this resolution has been referred.

"Impressive, too, is the resolution's sponsorship in the House. There its outstanding leader is a Republican, James Wadsworth of New York. A veteran of the Spanish war, he has, at 72, the distinction of being the only Member of the House (where he has served since 1933) who has also served in the U.S. Senate (1915-27). [He] is acknowledged to be one of the most influential men in both Houses.

"The Atlantic Union resolution is off to a flying start—but it is not a day too soon that it has come officially before Congress and the world. It is now a little more than 10 years since the United States was first publicly urged to invite the other North Atlantic democracies to a Federal Constitution Convention.

"More than half of that decade was spent in world war, at a cost of millions of lives, thousands of billions of dollars. The war ended in complete military victory, in 'unconditional surrender,' and in the U.N. and a flock of other world organizations.

"The net result? A figure or two may suffice. In August 1939 the U.S. Congress passed a defense budget that then set a peacetime record; it totaled $1,614 million * * *. The 1939 figure was only about one-tenth of the U.S. defense budget 10 years later.

"Federal taxes alone in 1949 were five times greater than in 1941, but the U.S. production total in the same period merely doubled * * *. This means that the tax burden on production is now two and a half times what it was. Production now is falling, but Government expenditure is still rising.

" 'Some less costly road to peace than the one we are now following must be found,' as Will Clayton says, and the road he points to—Atlantic Union—must be taken with the least delay."

The Senate held hearings on the resolution in February 1950, but the Foreign Relations Committee took no action, deciding—after the Korean war began—to wait and see. The resolution dying that session, Senator KEFAUVER reintroduced the same text in 1951 on behalf of 27 Senators, including most of the previous group plus such additions as Senators George Aiken, Frank Carlson, Richard Nixon, Herbert Lehman, Russell Long and John McClellan. The House sponsors numbered seven and included Christian A. Herter (later Secretary of State) and Mike Mansfield (now Senate majority leader).

(There follows the text of the statements Senator KEFAUVER made on the floor and to the press in introducing the resolution in 1949, and its text in 1949 and 1951.—EDITORS.)

"Mr. President, I send to the desk, for appropriate reference, a concurrent resolution on behalf of a distinguished bipartisan group of Senators, to-wit: Walter F. George; Guy M. Gillette; Raymond E. Baldwin; Robert C. Hendrickson; Bert H. Miller; Harry P. Cain; Zales P. Ecton; Lister Hill; John J. Sparkman; J. William Fulbright; Burnet R. Maybank; Edward J. Thye; Garrett L. Withers; Joseph R. McCarthy; Harley M. Kilgore; Virgil Chapman; J. Allen Frear, Jr.; Frank P. Graham; and Milton R. Young.

"The resolution requests the President to invite the other six sponsors of the pact to meet with American delegates 'in a Federal Convention to explore how far their peoples, and other democracies whom the Convention may invite to send delegates, can apply between them, within the framework of the United Nations, the principles of free federal union.'

"Its purpose is to permit timely, fruitful investigation of the possibilities of overcoming, through a federal union of the Atlantic democracies, the international difficulties we face. It aims also to give the United States and the cause of freedom and peace the maximum psychological advantages of leadership, without our writing any blank check or incurring any dangerous commitment."

AVOID PIECEMEAL SOLUTIONS

"We face in the Atlantic area, and particularly with Canada, Britain, France, and Benelux, a complex of problems—political, military, economic, monetary—which we are now trying to solve separately, piecemeal, by the ECA, the pact, rearmament, etc. We are also trying to solve them only on a diplomatic or government-to-government basis.

"Calling the proposed convention would not prevent continued efforts along these lines, but it would permit us, in company with the other pact sponsors, to try also to solve this complex of problems by tackling them as a whole, and on the man-to-man basis of our own American Federal Union system. It would commit us to nothing more than an earnest exploration of this way out.

"So great has been the success of the Federal system wherever it has been tried that for us to decide even to explore its possibilities in the Atlantic community would rouse great hope. It would seem wiser to begin this exploration now while we have time to do it carefully, rather than risk waiting until events force hasty, ill-considered action.

"The proposed resolution has the support of many eminent citizens, led by former Justice Owen J. Roberts, president of the Atlantic Union Committee, and its vice president, Robert Patterson, former Secretary of War, and Will Clayton, former Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

"We who sponsor this resolution in both Houses of the Congress represent the people of many States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the center to the high North and the Deep South, from the Smokies to the Rockies. We include members not only of both the great parties, but of nearly every important school of thought from conservative to liberal in each of them. Some of us voted for the Atlantic Treaty with great hope, and some with deep misgivings.

"The list of Senators sponsoring this resolution, while diverse in interest and thought, are towers of strength in this great body. Indeed, there is not a Senator in this group who does not have a better claim to the honor of filing this resolution than I do.

"Diverse as this group is, we are united in believing that it is high time we Americans began to explore in a Federal Convention how far we can extend the Federal principles of the United States between the free peoples of the North Atlantic. Even those of us who have the greatest hope in the North Atlantic Pact and in the United Nations agree that in a period so full of peril as the present we dare not neglect to explore so promising a way as Federal union to strengthen the dikes against war, depression and dictatorship."

This is the text of the statement to the press Senator KEFAUVER made after introducing the Atlantic Union resolution in the Senate, July 26, 1949:

"I have today introduced in the Senate a concurrent resolution on behalf of Senators [same list as in preceding statement made on the floor], inviting the democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates to a Federal Convention.

"We believe this resolution is in the great line of American history.

"This is a resolution to explore—and what is deeper in America than the spirit of exploring? It was by exploring that brave men discovered this New World. It was by calling a Federal Convention in 1787 to explore how the Thirteen Original States could be united more effectively than by the feeble Articles of Confederation that our Founding Fathers discovered the fruitful principles of free Federal union which they embodied in our Constitution—now the world's oldest written Constitution and the one that has brought more freedom, peace, and prosperity to more men and women than any form of government ever did in human history.

"Well, the resolution we sponsor is to explore the possibility of applying these same Federal union principles to unite the democracies of the New and the Old Worlds in a great union of the free—to explore whether we may not thus find, and lead humanity along, the way to that better, happier, freer world which mankind has been vainly seeking by other routes, and for which the lives of so many men have been sacrificed in two World Wars in our time.

"Too often already our hopes have failed us. Too often since Pearl Harbor we have been forced into precipitate action by the failure of our hopes. We, too, can be forced to offer union overnight, as the British were at Dunkirk—but this is not the way our forefathers built this great Union of ours. It is easy to speed from makeshift to makeshift, but to build an enduring union, to build anything enduring, takes time.

"Whatever we may think of the North Atlantic Treaty, it does gain us time. The question is: How shall we use this time? We who sponsor this Atlantic Union resolution agree in proposing that we use that time to begin without delay to explore the possibilities of oceanic federation now, while we can explore them with careful prudence.

"We should stress that this proposal does not prevent us from continuing the present efforts to solve by other methods the problems confronting us. But why should these efforts prevent us from exploring the Federal Union solution? When our scientists tackled the problem of harnessing atomic energy, they tackled it in four different ways at once. Should we not learn from that example?

"The fact is that we Americans face in the North Atlantic area with Canada, Britain, France, and Benelux, not one problem but a complex of problems.

"Not only are we still relying on the piecemeal technique which Secretary Marshall justly condemned in his celebrated speech, but we are confining our efforts to the diplomatic, or government-to-government approach. We approached this complex of problems piecemeal first on a universal government-to-government basis, through Bretton Woods, the International Bank and Fund, the United Nations, the International Trade Organization, the Baruch plan. When that approach didn't work, we got down to the heart of the problem in the North Atlantic area—but still we tackled each side of it separately on this government-to-government diplomatic basis, in the Marshall plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, the rearmament program.

"The Atlantic Union resolution would not, I repeat, prevent continued efforts along these lines, or any of the variations of them that have been proposed in other resolutions. But it would permit us to try also to solve this complex of problems by tackling them (1) as a whole; (2) in company with the Canadian, British, French, and Benelux democracies with whom we share most closely these economic, military, monetary, and atomic problems, and who sponsored with us the North Atlantic Pact; and (3) on the man-to-man Federal Union basis of our own U.S. Constitution."

SHOULD TRY AMERICAN APPROACH

"Surely this practical, 100-percent American approach should not be the one approach to the problem that we should refuse even to try.

"This is the approach that led our forefathers to our Federal Constitution. Much was said of that Constitution in our recent debate in the Senate on the Atlantic Pact, but as I pointed out then it seemed to have been forgotten that our Constitution is itself not a domestic but a foreign policy. It originated as a fundamental foreign policy to govern the relations of sovereign States with each other. It began as an answer to the type of problem we and the other Atlantic democracies now face: how to secure our liberty without another war.

"Our fathers took the Federal Convention road that led to our Constitution when attempts to solve piecemeal their political, economic, and monetary problems failed. We forget that an alliance—the Articles of Confederation, in some respects stronger than the North Atlantic Treaty—failed miserably even among 13 States whose people had more bonds in common than the 12 signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty.

"The dangers of war, depression, unemployment, inflation, led these earliest Atlantic democracies to meet in a Federal Convention in 1787 'as the deputies of 13 independent, sovereign States.' There they worked out our Federal Constitution as the solution of their economic, political, monetary, moral, and spiritual complex of problems, as their common foreign policy, the basis of their future relations with each other.

"Whereas the Articles of Confederation, like the North Atlantic Treaty, formed a mere alliance of governments, the Constitution of the United States formed by a Federal Union of their people. By it they divided powers between the democratic Union government and the separate democratic State governments, with a view to securing thereby the freedom, prosperity, and peace of all their citizens, and keeping all governments, State or Union, obedient to them.

"This citizen-to-citizen Federal Union policy made the people of the 13 States strong enough to survive the Napoleonic wars. With it they put the dollar, then not 'worth a continental,'—on a solid foundation, changed bankruptcy to boom, converted depression into the most fabulous prosperity humanity has ever known.

"Since then, every generation of our people—with one exception—has gone on extending to more States and more men this policy of Federal Union—this policy of an expanding common free government, a common defense force, a common currency, a common postage stamp, a common free market, a common bill of

rights, and a common guaranty that the people of each State in the Union, strong or weak, should govern themselves as they pleased in every field they did not expressly transfer to the Union.

"The one exception, the one generation that has not extended the area governed by this Federal Union policy that converts foreign relations into domestic relations and aliens into citizens, that generation is our own. We have forgotten that our Constitution began as a foreign policy, as a solution of an interstate economic, monetary, political, and moral problem. We have tried everything but this—and for all our plans and policies, all our debts and all our dead, we find ourselves today, after two world wars, with recovery receding and bankruptcy threatening part of the free, facing a more dangerous depression, a more formidable dictatorship, a third and more disastrous war.

"Is it not time to remember that our Constitution is a great foreign policy, and to explore how we can apply its principles to unite all the free?

"This resolution would but carry out the provisions of the North Atlantic Treaty. By its second article we are now committed, as are all its parties, to 'contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being.' How can we Americans prove more convincingly that we are determined to carry out this treaty than by inviting its cosponsors to study with us the Federal Union principles on which our own freedom is based?

"The application of these federal principles among the Atlantic democracies raises, of course, difficult problems. But it would seem foolish to let one's attitude toward this resolution depend on such questions as how the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of an Atlantic Union should be formed, and exactly what powers should be transferred to it, and by what transition measures, and what powers should be guaranteed to each nation in the union. These questions deserve earnest consideration, but to let anyone's answer to them prevent us from calling the convention would be the height of folly. The only answers to these questions that can have real weight are those that a Federal Convention itself reaches.

"EXPLORE NOW OR WAIT FOR CRISIS?

"The only question this resolution raises really is this: Is it wise, or unwise, to call a Federal Convention to bring in answers to all these other questions? Shall we now finally begin to explore the one way out of our troubles that we have not yet even ex-

plored? Or shall we continue to neglect this way which all our history teaches us to trust? Shall we begin this exploration now, while we have time to do it carefully? Or shall we take a chance, wait until events force us to move?

"That, I submit, is the only question today—and all the unhappy surprises we have suffered in recent years would seem to leave but one wise answer to that question.

"All this resolution commits us to is to explore earnestly and honestly the possibility of federating with other democracies on the basis of our own constitutional principles. True, a Federal Convention implies a constitutional convention, but impressive as that term is, such a convention cannot possibly commit those who call or attend it to anything more than a serious effort to work out a better system of governing their mutual relations than the existing one. Democracy itself forbids any democracy to commit its people to any constitution before they have seen it. Democracy requires us and every democracy to reserve to the people the right to ratify or reject any agreement or constitution that a Federal Convention may draft.

"By calling this Federal Convention we can lose nothing whatever, and we can gain more than anyone can imagine.

"So great has been the success of the federal union system wherever tried, so immense is its prestige, that for us merely to offer to begin to explore its possibilities in the Atlantic community would awe dictators and put new heart in the free more than anything else within our practical reach. By this act we thus tackle, too, the moral and spiritual side of our problem.

"In World War I we sought freedom—but without union. We came to World War II, and again we sought freedom—without union.

"In the hall where the Senate now sits, Daniel Webster first enunciated the immortal principle of 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'

"It moves me deeply as a southerner, speaking today for so many northerners, too, to propose on behalf of us all this resolution that returns to the principle that made us a people, and that proclaims over the ocean, 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'"

[From Freedom and Union, October 1963]

TEXT OF ORIGINAL (1949) ATLANTIC CONVENTION RESOLUTION

Whereas the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty have declared themselves "determined to safeguard the freedom, common herit-

age, and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law," and "resolved to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security"; and

Whereas they have agreed in article 2 of that treaty to "contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being" and to "seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies" and to "encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them"; and

Whereas the principles on which our American freedom is founded are those of Federal union, which were applied for the first time in history in the U.S. Constitution; and

Whereas our Federal Convention of 1787 worked out these principles of union as a means of safeguarding the individual liberty and common heritage of the people of 13 sovereign States, strengthening their free institutions, uniting their defensive efforts, encouraging their economic collaboration, and severally attaining the aims that the democracies of the north Atlantic have set for themselves in the aforesaid treaty; and

Whereas these federal union principles have succeeded impressively in advancing such aims in the United States, Canada, Switzerland, and wherever other free peoples have applied them; and

Whereas the United States, together with the other signatories to the treaty, has promised to bring about a better understanding of these federal principles and has, as their most extensive practitioner and greatest beneficiary, a unique moral obligation to make this contribution to peace; and

Whereas the United States and the other six democracies which sponsored the treaty have, by their success in drafting it and extending it to others, established a precedent for united action toward the attainment of these aims, and the creation of a free and lasting union: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the President is requested to invite the democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates, representing their principal political parties, to meet with delegates of the United States in a Federal Convention to explore how far their peoples, and the peoples of such other democracies as the convention may invite to send delegates, can apply among them, within the framework of the United Nations, the principles of free federal union.

By Representative William Fitts Ryan, of New York

Mr. Speaker, the untimely death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER has left a void in American politics which may never be filled. Senator KEFAUVER was loved and revered not only by his constituents in Tennessee but by millions of Americans who looked to him to protect the public interest. Many editorials all over the Nation have been written memorializing the great crusader from Tennessee. Few, however, capture the essence of the man more accurately than one which was published in the August 31 issue of the New Republic magazine. I wish to draw the attention of my colleagues to this tribute to one of the Nation's greatest Senators:

ESTES KEFAUVER

Ours is an age of transition from localism to nationalism, and nowhere is the difficulty of this change clearer than in the U.S. Congress. Senator ESTES KEFAUVER was elected by the people of Tennessee to serve as their Senator. Yet he was called, both by his own conscience and by the requirements of the time in which he lived, to be not merely the Senator from Tennessee but a U.S. Senator. Few of his colleagues met the challenge so successfully.

ESTES KEFAUVER was a great campaigner, a master of the handshake and the slap on the back. But unlike most of his colleagues he used these skills not only to retain office but to serve the public interest as he saw it. His dependence on southern voters did not prevent him from advocating Atlantic Union or refusing to sign the southern manifesto, nor from opposing the filibusters and the poll tax.

Nor did the power of local businessmen or national lobbyists blunt his Populist faith that the function of government is to protest "the people" from "the interests." He opposed A.T. & T. in space, the drug houses in medicine, and the steel companies in industry. The opposition was instinctive, but it was backed by impressive expertise: When the drug safety bill was signed last year, the trade press said KEFAUVER had won because he and his staff knew more about the drug industry than the industry knew about itself.

There are probably no more than 30 Senators who habitually place the public interest ahead of local interests. KEFAUVER was one of them. He had a rare willingness to struggle, both politically and

intellectually, with problems far removed from the immediate affairs of his constituents. Sometimes, as when he investigated crime, drugs, or the Dixon-Yates affair, he earned headlines for his troubles. Occasionally he even won votes. But often his efforts were visible only to a few colleagues and to the lobbyists who opposed him. When he died on August 8 he was in the midst of such an unsung fight, against a "quality maintenance" bill which would in effect legalize price fixing on trade-marked goods. There are no legislative monuments to the men who lead such defensive actions in Congress, but without them the country cannot long survive.

Estes Kefauver had neither the intellectual style nor the restrained manner valued on the New Frontier or elsewhere in an increasingly technocratic society. He was a legacy from the past—from the muckrakers and progressivism—when it was still fashionable to believe that the people were the ultimate respository of wisdom and virtue. His faith is today largely discredited. But the new age which is dawning has yet to discover a new faith to replace it. Until it does, Estes Kefauver should not be forgotten.

By Representative Lester R. Johnson, of Wisconsin

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include an editorial from the Capital Times, Madison, Wis., which details the many accomplishments and the basic courage and integrity of a man I am proud to have had as a friend—the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER.

Although he represented Tennessee in Congress, we in Wisconsin had long ago adopted him as one of our own. Wisconsin's "little guys" loved ESTES. His roster of Badger friends included cooperatives, farmers, and many Democrats. In 1953 and 1954 he traveled extensively in the Ninth Congressional District, which I represent in Congress, and the friends he made there then still remember him kindly.

In 1952 I was privileged to attend the National Democratic Convention in Chicago as a Kefauver-for-President delegate. During my 10 years in Congress, my always-active admiration for this great liberal, reformer and champion of the common man continued to grow. It was with a sense of tremendous shock and sadness that I learned on Saturday that the Nation had lost one of its distinguished leaders—and I had lost a friend.

The editorial from the Capital Times follows:

A PUBLIC SERVANT OF COURAGE AND PRINCIPLE—SENATOR KEFAUVER

The Senate of the United States and, therefore, the country as a whole, has suffered a serious loss in the sudden death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee.

This tall, rangy Senator had a strange and indefinable political appeal which allowed him to take positions on public issues which would have ended the career of other politicians in a southern State.

No Senator, for example, had a better record in the field of civil rights than KEFAUVER. Though he was elected by Tennessee he was a Senator for the whole Nation.

In the years of distinguished service he gave to the Nation in the House and Senate, he never trimmed his sails.

His investigation of crime and racketeering opened the eyes of this Nation to formidable peril it faced.

It was KEFAUVER who stopped the outrageous Dixon-Yates deal aimed at crippling the Tennessee Valley Authority.

His investigation of the drug industry has brought some much-needed reforms, though he was disappointed in the half-way measures passed.

He was a leader in the fight against handling over the communication satellite to private interests and was fighting for the public on that issue right up to the end.

His courageous stand for the public interest won him a following throughout the Nation. He was not popular with the politicians, however. He was particularly disliked by the big city machine bosses in his own party.

More than any other force they were responsible for denying him his party's nomination for President.

Senator KEFAUVER had many friends in Wisconsin where he conducted two successful campaigns for presidential delegates. The Capital Times is proud of the warm friendship we enjoyed with him.

His kind of courage is desperately needed in the Senate.

By Senator Quentin N. Burdick, of North Dakota

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have an article which appeared in the New York Times, August 12, 1963, entitled "The Observer," included in my remarks.

OBSERVER

WASHINGTON, August 11.—He was an egghead masquerading as a yokel and what he wanted was the Presidency. For 6 years, with little more than a coonskin cap and the stamina of a drayhorse, he kept the most skillful politicians of the Democratic Party in a nightmare.

Up and down the American folkways he plodded with his huge right hand dangling limp before him, ready for deposit in the claw of anyone who crossed his path. He would hand them the hand and look through them and murmer, "Ah'm ESTES KEFAUVER and Ah'm runnin' for President. Will you he'p me?"

From Harry Truman in the White House down through the bull-roast-and-clambake crowd, the party professionals despised him. He was a maverick.

END OF A MAVERICK

"Always running for President," his colleagues in the Senate said with an inflection that meant, "he doesn't belong." The southerners viewed him as a traitor to the cause, a southerner seduced by ambition into espousal of civil rights and other unsouthern flapdoodle. His TV investigation of the mobs, which had publicized certain ugly facts about the relationship of dirty money and urban politics, had won him the lasting hatred of the big-machine politicians.

Campaigning across the country on a chain of outstretched hands, KEFAUVER found the opposition of the professionals a boon of sorts. He could say with Liberace, "Nobody loves me but the people." And so, it seemed, the people did. But conventions are purely professional institutions and both times—in 1952 and 1956—the professionals had their revenge.

In 1956 he managed to win the sop of the Vice Presidential nomination, and the professionals assigned him to the obscurity of campaigning in the deep-corn country.

The campaign was a model of disorganization. He fell hours behind schedule, kept audiences waiting until midnight until finally, out of the storm, groggy with fatigue, that distant dreamy look on his face, he would stumble into the hall to be greeted by his dismayed local agent.

"What kind of audience you got here?" he would ask as he moved in his stately stiff walk down the aisle, giving them the hand-flapping motion that passed for a wave. "Indians," his adviser told him one night. "What's their problem?" KEFAUVER asked. "Damn it, man. They're Indians. Isn't that enough?"

EGGHEAD IN COONSKIN

The irony of KEFAUVER was that the coonskin cap, by which the country at large knew him, was a fraud. It implied a log cabin rustic bred to the cracker barrel circle, but it concealed one of the authentic eggheads of American politics. Behind the homespun facade was an upper-middle-class family background, a university education, a law degree from Yale, marriage to a moneyed Scottish beauty, and a quality of introspection so deep that he was most enigmatic to those who knew him best.

In the Dixon-Yates affair he was a match for the canniest minds of Wall Street in the intricacies of high finance. In private conversation he was given a mordant, ironic humor far deadlier to the politician than Adlai Stevenson's good-humored wit, which was said to have offended the voters.

None of this showed on the public facade. To the country he remained the mountaineer in coonskin, exuding the smell of the old hills. Subconsciously or by design, he exploited the Lincolnesque in his figure and towered among his "little people" as a symbol of all those virtues associated in the national memory with log-cabin roots.

"Will you help me?" went the pitch. "I grew up in a little, small town, and I have the same ambitions, the same aspirations that most of you have."

INNATELY THE BACKWOODSMAN

And yet, if the facade was all wrong, there was a germ of essential truth in the coonskin, for he had the backwoodsman's innate distrust of big business and the "interests" and an admirable zest for stepping on rich fat toes.

Those who trailed him on his quest for the Presidency will remember him for a time to come, standing on the old-fashioned bandstands in courthouse squares murmuring, "You'll help me, won't you?" And, "If you can't give me your votes, remember me at least in your prayers."

RUSSELL BAKER.

By Senator George McGovern, of South Dakota

Mr. President, one of the most fervent and yet richly deserved tributes offered to our late beloved colleague, Senator KEFAUVER, is from the pen of Mr. Clarence Streit. Mr. Streit as editor of Freedom and Union—the official organ of Federal Union, Inc.—offers an eloquent and entirely justified tribute to the Senator from Tennessee for his longtime leadership in the cause of Atlantic Union.

On June 5, 1948, he said to his fellow townsmen in Madisonville, Tenn.:

> I am convinced that the one real way that we can have peace in the world is to join in a kind of federation with the other freedom-loving peoples.

Throughout his senatorial career, ESTES KEFAUVER never wavered in that conviction.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the tribute by Mr. Streit appearing in the September 1963 issue of Freedom and Union be printed as follows:

[From Freedom and Union magazine, September 1963]

SENATOR ESTES KEFAUVER, TRAIL BLAZER OF ATLANTIC UNION, 1903–63

"The answer of the State Department to every proposal for peace, Mr. President, is that it needs time to consider the proposal. My Heaven, Mr. President * * * we need to utilize the brief time that we have * * * to quit drifting and start moving. The State Department evidently does not realize that we cannot kill time; it is time which kills us. And that was never more true than it is at this very moment."

POIGNANT TIMELY REMINDER

Thus spoke Senator ESTES KEFAUVER in his speech, "Atlantic Union: The Way to Peace—Reply to the State Department," in answer to its opposition to the Atlantic Union resolution he had introduced July 28, 1949. He spoke on the Senate floor March 13, 1950—3 months before communism suddenly launched its attack on South Korea.

All that speech repays rereading now, but the paragraph quoted speaks most eloquently just today to all his generation, and most movingly to us Atlantic Unionists who know how priceless was his pioneering for federation of the free. No one in the prime of life can be reminded too often or too poignantly that, however much we act as though we had time to kill, all the while time is killing us. ESTES speaks to us, and to all, with new authority on this subject now. He did not kill time, he crowded great good into his years, and wisely did he do so, for now time has killed him, when only 60, at the peak of his powers.

The cause of Atlantic Federal Union suffered a truly tragic loss when his heart abruptly gave way on August 10. He had gone from the Senate floor, where he was opposing private monopoly of communication satellites, to the hospital, thinking he had only indigestion. There his heart—until then a kind heart and a stout one in every way—suddenly gave in.

WHAT OTHER SENATOR?

Nature gave ESTES great gifts; hard work developed them, and what he had already done with them promised even finer contributions to his fellow man, had he been allowed even the Biblical three score and ten. He was not a member of the Senate's famed inner "club," but those who are, and all the 99 Senators, may well ask themselves: "The death of what Senator among us would have the nationwide, Atlanticwide impact Senator KEFAUVER's has had—measured not only in front page headlines and editorial tributes but in a deep sense of personal loss felt by so many whose devoted loyalty he had won, for so many reasons, in so many places and fields of life?"

ESTES was much more than one Senator in a hundred; he was one man in a myriad. He needs a Shakespeare to do him justice—and for him Shakespeare did write a eulogy. It is the tribute to Brutus which Anthony paid on the battlefield where he perished. One need but omit—as I do here—its second and third lines to make even its "He * * * made one of them" refer no longer to Brutus and the conspirators, but (like all the rest) to ESTES and his work to unite the free:

"This was the noblest Roman of them all.

* * * * * * *

"He only, in a general honest thought
And common good to all, made one of them.
His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man!' "

THE GENTLE WARRIOR

ESTES KEFAUVER'S life was gentle in the sense that he was a born gentleman, the soul of kindness. He did not learn consideration for others from a course on how to make friends. Consideration for each person he encountered, however humble, was in him second nature—nay, true nature. He carried it to a friendly fault that has made his ready handshake legendary, and overshadowed for the public better proofs of his thoughtfulness that thousands treasure.

His life was far from gentle, however, in the sense of drifting with the current or following the way of least resistance as so many do, avoiding hard decisions, conflict. ESTES was forever paddling his canoe upstream, even up rapids that daunted other explorers. Increasingly through his 10 years in the House and 15 in the Senate, his public life was devoted to heroic conflict. His battles were both negative and positive.

He fought against dragons as powerful as war, democratic disunion or anarchy, race prejudice, organized crime, monopoly and profiteering in steel, medicine, the high heavens of Telstars. Birth involves conflict too, and ESTES fought for creation of the Federation of the Free, for a more effective "Twentieth Century Congress"—the title of his first book—for more democratic elections (through abolishing the poll tax, reforming the presidential electoral college, etc.).

In politics as in engineering, there are two kinds of men, the kind that construct and the kind that operate. ESTES was of the rarer constructive type. His passion for building better government first showed itself at the county level when he came home from Yale to practice law. Before he died he had contributed to the creation of better government at all the other existing levels, municipal, State, and Federal—and above all to the constitution of democratic government, where it does not yet exist, in Atlantica. His championship of Federal Government on this international scale contributed to his election to the Senate in 1948 despite Boss Crump in Memphis—and thereby resulted in replacing his machine with an independent government in that city, and freeing the State government from bossism. But this is a story in itself—for a later issue.

A GIANT'S STRENGTH

ESTES had a giant's strength, without the fault that Shakespeare found in this:

> "Oh, it is excellent
> To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
> To use it like a giant."

I wish Shakespeare had gone on to tell us how excellent it is to use such strength for noble ends—not to exploit the weaknesses of others for one's own profit but to find satisfactions in making the weak stronger, the fearful braver, and in freeing one's fellows from the walls of anarchy, war, and moral cowardice that hem man in, and the chains of oppression, prejudice, and ignorance that hold him down. ESTES had a giant's strength in at least two senses, physical and moral. He was weak as a speaker—he moved men by his character much more than by his speech. He was not a seminal thinker—but he had an independent mind. He was open to the ideas of others and not too proud to work for those he judged to be sound as if they were his own. And his judgment not only of ideas but even more of political situations and strategy was very good. To return to the two strengths mentioned.

MR. COURAGE

Physically, ESTES stood head and broad shoulders above most of us. His stamina carried him through three killing campaigns for his Senate seat, and the multitude of presidential primaries that he won in 1952 and 1956. Morally, his strength was even rarer.

I think of him often as "Mr. Courage," for throughout the 15 years I knew him intimately he was the most consistently and outstandingly courageous man in legislative office I have yet known. Nor does my prize for courage go to him only because of the degree of it he showed in the leadership he gave Atlantic Union in Congress, as some may assume.

It has never seemed to me to take the highest courage for those who laud the commonsense of the common people, as all politicians do, to ask the voters to back the case for Atlantic Union, which is commonsense itself, to me at least. But the record shows that they do think this requires high courage, and so I concede the point—the more readily because such courage is indeed required to continue in this course as long as ESTES did. The eulogies and editorials I have read have nearly all stressed his courage, but—with significant exceptions in Tennessee where he was best known—none even mentioned his work for Atlantic Union. This shows at least that there was plenty of other proof of it; this other evidence has most impressed me, too.

83-TO-1 ESTES

The ignorance, prejudice and misguided emotions that Atlantic Union runs counter to and that so many politicians have feared to face do not seem to me so hard to overcome or so explosive as the ignorance, bigotry, and misguided emotions roused by other issues, most directly in one's own constituency. Most politicians seem to share this evaluation, judging from their fear of even

irking their constituents on matters that touch them to the quick. Yet through these minefields sown with boobytraps ESTES marched as calmly as others on a safe highway—even more serenely, if anything, than he did on the Atlantic Union road. For example, on racial issue votes, he stood out among all the Southern Senators, conservatives and liberals, often alone until Albert Gore joined him as the junior Senator from the State already famed for Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson.

The vote that most impressed me allowed one to test ESTES against the whole field. It came when "northern Democratic liberals," with whom ESTES often voted, sought during the McCarthy fever to outfox those who charged that they were soft on communism, by sponsoring a bill to outlaw the Communist Party. No one was under worse attack then as a "pink" than ESTES in Tennessee by those who sought his seat. The Senate approved the bill 83 to 1—and the 1 was Senator KEFAUVER. The immediate result was an astonishing victory he won singlehanded, which began the next day when two Senators were brave enough to confess on the floor their consciences had kept them awake all night because they should have voted as he did. In a later issue we shall publish an article by his then administrative assistant, Richard Wallace, now executive director of the Atlantic Council of the United States, telling this whole heartwarming story. This demonstration of Senator KEFAUVER's courage and wisdom deserves a much more spacious monument than we can give it now.

NOT RECKLESS COURAGE

The courage that characterized Senator KEFAUVER was not blind or even reckless or flamboyant. It was no less deliberate than determined, as aware of the dangers as it was quiet, a courage fathered by deeply rooted values and mothered by firm faith in his fellow man.

"His critics in the Senate called him 'ESTES the Martyr,' the 'Frontiersman,' and the 'Scourge of Sin.'" The New York Times said: "They accounted him a canny politician bent on building up a personal following." Frontiersman he was indeed in spirit, but there was in him nothing of Jeremiah, still less of the martyr or fanatic. His courage came from no such sources. True, he was a shrewd politician—as I have had much more occasion to welcome than to criticize—but Congress swarms with canny politicians who seek to build up a personal following * * * by anything but the course that ESTES took. Two of many examples in my personal knowledge may show that seeking his own advantage was not his major motive.

TWO STEPS BACK FROM FAME

When Estes gained national renown by his crime investigation I was disturbed, because I feared it would divert him too much from Atlantic Union. I expressed to him more than once my anxiety, and my belief that Federation of the Free was more worthy of his mettle. It is now forgotten that at the height of the fame his Crime Investigation Committee had brought him, he resigned as its chairman. He tied this to his responsibility as sponsor of the Atlantic Union resolution, in a statement on March 24, 1951. The Korean war was then on, and he explained to his constituents: "Tennessee boys are dying on foreign battlefields and I believe this plan I proposed may provide the answer we pray for. I consider it my bounden duty to turn my efforts and time from local and national crime to international crime."

Freedom and Union featured this on its May 1951 cover, but the mass media gave it scant if any attention. The cause to which he turned has brought Senator Kefauver so little publicity, thus far, that, as has been noted, outside Tennessee, his obituaries rarely mentioned his Atlantic Union role. Such was this canny politician bent on building up a personal following.

The second example I would cite came in 1959. The outlook for congressional approval of the Atlantic Convention proposed—which Foster Dulles had blocked when he became Secretary of State—had improved enough to make its supporters, including Senator Kefauver, believe it might win, and therefore should be reintroduced. Far from seeking to cash in on his early work, he advised the resolution's supporters that, because of hostility he had roused on other issues and the fact that he was not a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, it would be wiser to get a member of that committee to introduce it.

In the interest of the resolution, he stepped aside for Senator Hubert Humphrey, who became its chief sponsor, and Senator Frank Church, who became its floor manager. Estes continued to work as hard for it in the ranks as when he was out in front. Without him it would not have passed the Senate as it did in 1960—and I happen to know that it was his influence behind the scenes that gave it the Republican support it needed to clear the Rules Committee and reach the floor of the House, where its victory was clinched. Such was the character of Estes Kefauver.

WHERE WE DIFFERED

Devotion to principle did not blind him to the values of compromise. In my view he was too ready, after the failure of the first years of head-on onslaught for the Atlantic Union resolution to follow those who urged that the way to get it through was to

water it down. At times I differed strongly with him on strategy. We agreed on the need to accept some compromises to get action while insisting on enough of the essential to make the action worthwhile. We differed only on the degree this involved. I was readier than he to risk losing the battle than to win it in a way I thought risked losing the war.

There was truth in both views: The resolution did win approval, as he hoped, in the weakened form that he found safe—and that in the end I supported, partly from respect for his judgment and partly from necessity. But, as I feared, the resulting Convention held in January 1962 fell woefully short of what we both had sought. Though ESTES would go further than I in such compromising, I know his willingness came from no weakening of his devotion to Atlantic Union.

STARTING KEFAUVER SERIES

The story of Senator KEFAUVER's work for Atlantic Union is too great to be told now, and too impressive, inspiring and filled with human interest not to be told later. And so, in succeeding issues, we shall tell more of it. We shall accompany the series with documents, beginning now, on page 21, where we give the text of his first major Senate speech on Atlantic Union. Only 11 days after his death, the New York Times found occasion to note: "The loss of Senator KEFAUVER seems greater today than it did when death struck him down." As the true story of his work for Atlantic Federation becomes better known, that comment will swell into a chorus, and his stature will loom even greater.

HIS 1948 COMMITMENT

In his hometown, Madisonville, Tenn., named for the "Father of the Federal Constitution," where ESTES was buried, he made on June 5, 1948, his first public commitment to Atlantic Union. Announcing his candidacy for the Senate, he said:

"I have studied the matter very closely. I am convinced that the one real way that we can have peace in the world is to join in a kind of federation with the other freedom-loving peoples. * * * I feel that the statesmen of these democracies should work toward this program, just as the statesmen of our Nation worked toward building 13 States into the federation which grew into the great United States of America. * * * It is going to take work, a lot of prayerful thinking, and moral and religious regeneration. But it is not only possible. It must be done."

FINAL TESTIMONIAL

Fifteen years later, I would testify in the words of Timothy: He fought a good fight, he finished his course, he kept the faith. And I would add these words with which the Associated Press ended its report of the burial of Senator KEFAUVER on August 13:

"As thunder rolled, the coffin was removed by an Air Force honor guard to the graveside. Lightning flashed as the casket was lowered and when the family turned from the grave, a heavy downpour began."

In a way that would have seemed fitting to the ancients, the noblest Roman of them all passed into history.

Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that the text of Senator KEFAUVER's first major speech in the Senate on Atlantic Union, July 11, 1949, as reproduced in the September 1963 issue of Freedom and Union—a speech in which the Senator served notice of the Atlantic Union resolution which he introduced 2 weeks later on July 26, 1949—be printed as follows:

[From Freedom and Union magazine, September 1963]

KEFAUVER IN 1949 FORESAW PRESENT DOUBTS OF ALLIES—URGED ATLANTIC FEDERATION

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, providence has so arranged it that we are considering ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty in the historic Chamber where the Senate met in the early years of the Republic, when this great Federal Union of ours was an experiment whose testing had begun. When the Senate came to this city, it had only 32 Members. My own State of Tennessee was the youngest of the 16 States that then formed the Union, and "We the people of the United States" were only a little more than 5 million strong.

"God works in a mysterious way His wonders to perform." He has blessed His Federal Union beyond the dreams of its founders; He has brought it to the highest pinnacle of both power and freedom that any people ever knew; He has faced it now with one of the decisive turning periods in history; and He has brought us now back to this hallowed historic Hall to make the decisions on which this epoch will turn, for good or for ill. I find it altogether fitting that this should be. No surroundings could be more conducive to wisdom than these. They bring us all more intimately together to counsel one another. They evoke inspiringly the hu-

man principles that created this Federal Union and the great progress to which their practice has already led. I stand here in no little awe.

I have given the North Atlantic Treaty the most earnest consideration of which I am capable. I have come to this conclusion:

I shall vote for its ratification, without reservation, but I consent to it only because I see it as a necessary interim measure, a measure that will gain the time needed to explore in peace a far more promising prospect—the possibility of eventually uniting the democracies of the North Atlantic by our own basic Federal principles into a great Atlantic Union of the Free.

WHAT IS OUR PRIME POLICY?

My approach to this treaty may be summed up as follows: First, what should be the prime purpose of our foreign policy? Second, will ratification of this treaty achieve or serve that purpose?

My answer to my first question is that the prime purpose of our foreign policy should be to secure our free way of life without having to fight a recurring world war every generation to do so. Twice in our lifetime we have sought to gain this.

I doubt that any of us would disagree that this should be our basic purpose. But policymakers are so absorbed by day-to-day problems that they tend to forget this purpose, and the peculiar responsibility it places on all of us here. To overcome dictatorship and would-be world conquerors without war has proved to be a far harder thing than to vanquish it by war. It requires wisdom, vision, boldness, sacrifice even more than does victory by war. And it requires them of us, the older men and women; the parents, not the children; the statesmen, not the youngsters. If we fail, then their turn comes, and the only thing that can save our freedom thereafter is their sacrifice and their daring.

Twice in our lifetime we have sought to secure our freedom without war. Twice we have failed. Twice the boys have had to save the day, make up for their elders' lack of vision, wisdom, self-sacrifice, and courage. And twice we have seen that merely to win by war is no enduring answer, even though the surrender be unconditional and we occupy Tokyo and Berlin. Twice we have seen that all the sacrifices of our youth cannot secure our freedom without another war if their elders remain unwilling to sacrifice dangerous, narrow, selfish views, disastrously outmoded concepts, fail to tackle the problem with the vision and courage that success requires. Twice we have failed to achieve our prime purpose, and we dare not fail again. But to succeed we must keep always in mind, not only what our purpose is, but the special responsibility it places on each of us here in the Senate.

In this spirit I would approach the second question: Will ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty achieve or serve this prime purpose? The question is involved, and the answer can only be reached after considerable weighing of the lessons of history. In the end the answer, in my opinion, must be definitely in the affirmative.

Unquestionably this treaty represents a profound change in the policy of this Republic. We cannot be unmindful of that, in this hall which takes us back to the days of Jefferson's first inaugural, when he laid down the policy of "entangling alliances with none." But this small chamber reminds us too of the vast changes that have since occurred, not only in the power and status of this Union in the world, but also in science and technology, in the means of communication, and of destruction.

When Senator Andrew Jackson came to represent my own State of Tennessee in this Hall in 1823, he had to make the trip of 860 miles on horseback, all except the last leg of it, which he made by ship, and even that short leg took him 5 days. Now I can make that trip from Tennessee in fewer hours than it took Andrew Jackson weeks.

Wisdom counsels us to cling to policies that have long served us well. We have, until recent years, clung tightly to the Jefferson policy. We ought to achieve our prime purpose, of securing our free way of life without World War, by neutrality in 1914, when the airplane was in its infancy, and we failed. We clung to it still, rejected the Wilsonian guarantee of France and the Covenant of the League of Nations as entangling alliances, and relied on neutrality to achieve our purpose. Again we failed and much more disastrously than before. In 1941, the airplane was only in its childhood, yet it proved capable of destroying overnight the control of the Pacific on which we had spent billions. At the time of the Pearl Harbor disaster, the airplane had not yet burst through the sound barriers to speeds that seem fabulous now, but it will no doubt seem slow in 1960 or 1970. Neutrality and isolationism failed dismally to save us when the guided missile and the atomic bomb were still unborn. Save at the cost of still worse catastrophe, we cannot continue to cling to such policies while these fearful weapons are growing by jumps and by jets.

If wisdom counsels us not to abandon lightly policies that have long proved good, it tells us too, not to cling to them blindly when they are producing worse and worse disasters. It reminds us that policies that worked in one set of conditions may fail in others, and that when they do we must adapt ourselves to the world we live in or we will perish.

The fact that this treaty marks a decided change from the Jeffersonian policy is, therefore, no longer an argument against it; it is rather an argument for it, since safety compels us to make some decided changes. We cannot be more entangled by a treaty than we already are by the facts of modern life, and it behooves us to remember that these conditions of life tend to entangle us more and more every year, not less and less.

That the Senate and the people of the United States have already recognized this is proved by their overwhelming acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations. That represents no little change, but unhappily it is only too evident that, with all the good that the United Nations does, and that more than justifies our continued support of it, the U.N. is not strong enough, as it stands, to achieve our purpose. It must be greatly strengthened, but it is evident that it must be strengthened in some way that cannot be vetoed by a potential aggressor. Consequently, it must be strengthened in some way that involves no amendment of the charter.

The North Atlantic Treaty meets this first test; it requires no change in the charter. It is made under the permission which the charter expressly grants. Does it, however, strengthen the forces of peace enough to achieve our prime purpose? I sympathize fully with the misgivings that many have in this regard.

THE DILEMMA WE FACE

Certainly the result has been to make clearer a basic dilemma that lies at the heart of this treaty. As was said by the Senator from Utah, Mr. Watkins, in the Senate June 1, many believe that by this treaty we can give positive assurance of our help to our European allies and at the same time preserve freedom of action by Congress. The dilemma is that the more positive assurance of help we give, the less we can preserve our freedom of action, and the more we preserve it, the less certain is our aid to our allies. The treaty's carefully worded text seeks to balance on both horns of this dilemma, and does this, in my judgment, about as well as can be done.

If we strengthened the treaty's positive assurance to our allies to the point where the alliance was automatic, we would not only be disregarding constitutional processes which we are bound to maintain, but we would be incurring the danger of handing a blank check to nations who would remain free to follow policies that could lead to war. They would each retain their independent sovereignty not only as regards policy but as regards their armed forces; and the more automatic our guaranty to come to their aid if they got into war, no matter what they did, the more ineffective would be the voice we had in shaping their peacetime policies.

On the other horn of the dilemma, if we seek by reservations to emphasize our constitutional processes and our freedom of action more than the treaty already does, we fall into the danger of encouraging the potential aggressor to attack in the belief that we will not come to the aid of our allies, or will come too slowly or too late. There is no safety in this course either.

The question is, Does this treaty strengthen the forces of peace enough to achieve our prime purpose? The more we try to keep from being entangled by the treaty, the weaker it becomes. What good are such efforts to pull away from the full implications of the treaty, especially since the situation is such that we are bound to be entangled in any major war, treaty or no treaty and no matter what reservations are made to it.

The chief objection to the treaty, it seems to me, is rather that at best it cannot be relied on to strengthen the side of peace enough to achieve our prime purpose. Alliances are notoriously unreliable, even the most automatic ones. Back in 1788, Alexander Hamilton pointed out in No. 15 of the Federalist:

"In the early part of the present century there was an epidemical rage in Europe for this species of compacts, from which the politicians of the times fondly hoped for benefits which were never realized. With a view to establishing the equilibrium of power and the peace of that part of the world, all the resources of negotiation were exhausted and triple and quadruple alliances were formed; but they were scarcely formed before they were broken, giving an instructive but afflicting lesson to mankind; how little dependence is to be placed on treaties which have no other sanction than the obligations of good faith."

The lesson was not learned, and the afflictions have continued. Consider merely the record in our own time. Can any Senator name a single alliance in this tumultuous period that achieved the purpose for which it was made? I hope there is at least one exception—though that would only help prove the rule—but I have looked in vain for it.

Just as this alliance was negotiated as a means of achieving our purpose without war, so every alliance was made to achieve without war the ends of its signers. Yet Germany, Austria, and Italy did not avoid World War I through the dual and triple alliances. Nor did France, Britain, and Russia avoid war through the Entente Cordiale and the Triple Entente and the Franco-Russian Alliance. The Locarno Treaty of mutual guaranty; the Little Entente; the Franco-Polish, the Franco-Czech, the Franco-Yugoslav, the Franco-Rumanian, the Franco-Soviet, and the Franco-British Alliances; the Axis Alliances; none of these served to gain the purpose of any ally of winning without World War II.

A worse record could hardly be imagined, but the record is, in fact, still worse. Not only did all these alliances fail to save a single ally from war; they did not even suffice to win the war for any of them. The Triple Entente did not win World War I; it broke down with the Russian revolution in 1917. The Franco-British Alliance did not win World War II; it broke down even earlier, less than a year after the war began. Both wars were won only after the United States was drawn into them.

THE GREAT WEAKNESS IN ALLIANCES

The great weakness in the alliance method which is responsible for this sorry record is the uncertainty that lies at the heart of any such treaty. However unequivocal its text may seem, the fact remains that each ally retains his sovereign power to interpret the terms of the treaty to suit his own interests. This is inherent in the very nature of an alliance in the fact that it is an agreement between sovereign states, in contradistinction, for example, to a federal union constitution, which is an a greement made by sovereign citizens. It is this uncertainty about whether an alliance will function or not at the showdown that leads to their failure. It encourages the adversary to hope that he can contrive to split the allies apart, and it makes each ally continually fear that he will be left in the lurch by the others just when he is most in need of aid. I have heard not a few Americans express doubt that we could depend on certain of our allies under this treaty in the event of war, particularly if we were attacked in the Far East. I understand there are Europeans who express the same doubt about our coming to their aid if they are attacked.

(NOTE.—By 1963 these fears had grown to a De Gaulle crescendo, which Washington's reassurances have not allayed.)

How far our constitutional rights are already safeguarded in this treaty was brought out by that eminent jurist, Owen J. Roberts, former Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. On May 6 he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in favor of ratification of the treaty as a step toward the formation of an Atlantic Federal Union, a fact that greatly encourages me in taking the same stand. On page 556 of the report of these committee hearings, I find this passage:

"Mr. ROBERTS. I suppose you realize that although this treaty is a 20-year treaty, the body of which you are a member could revoke it in 2 years, under our present Constitution.

"Senator DONNELL. You do not mean the Senate could do it?

"Mr. ROBERTS. I mean Congress could do it.

"Senator DONNELL. Under what provision do you mean? The provision in regard to 2 years beyond which provisions for war cannot be——

"Mr. ROBERTS. No. I mean the treaties of the United States are on the same parity with law.

"I think you are familiar with the fact that a law passed by Congress inconsistent with the treaty repeals the treaty.

"Senator DONNELL. That is correct. But I understood you to say something about 2 years.

"Mr. ROBERTS. I say 2 years, 5 years, or 10 years."

We may feel confident that once this treaty is ratified, Congress will not exercise this power to revoke it in whole or in part. But I submit that the issue does not turn only on our own certainty as to what we shall do. The value of this treaty in achieving our prime purpose of securing freedom without war turns also on whether all our allies will share this confidence that we shall never exercise this power. It turns even more on whether the master of the Kremlin believes in our good faith as we do, and in that of our allies as they do. Does anyone think that he holds this high opinion of any of us?

Surely, the more the Kremlin doubts that this treaty will be carried out, the less it will be discouraged from aggression and the less we are likely to achieve by this treaty our prime purpose of securing freedom without war. So the treaty does not prevent us from being exposed to this danger.

Since an alliance is usually an unreliable means of preventing war, it may well be asked why we should ratify this treaty.

My answer is that we should ratify it because of certain practical considerations. However poor a reed we may consider this treaty, it has already been signed. Refusal to ratify it now, because it fails to remove entirely the uncertainty that makes for war, would not lessen that uncertainty, but increase it to the highest degree. We should not forget, much as we should deplore, that the memory of the Senate's rejection of the League of Nations Covenant after President Wilson had signed it, and of the revised World Court protocol after that great Republican statesman, Elihu Root, negotiated it at Geneva in 1929, already makes many Europeans regard the United States as a very uncertain quantity. Nothing could strengthen this feeling more than our refusal now to ratify this treaty. Only the potential aggressor could gain by such an upset—and what encouragement he would gain.

Moreover, our Government in negotiating this treaty was dealing with an urgent situation. The blockade of Berlin, we should not forget, was at its height when these negotiations began.

Although the treaty is too uncertain an instrument to be trusted permanently to achieve our prime purpose, it can be very useful as a means of gaining the time we need to work out the instrument that will do that job. Although alliances may

not suffice to prevent war very long, they have served to defer war. The trouble has been that their supporters have failed to use this time wisely, failed to use it promptly to replace the alliance with something much more reliable. That something is, in my judgment, our own U.S. federal union system. The recent formation of the Atlantic Union Committee and the support it is receiving greatly encourages me to believe that if we ratify this treaty the time we gain by it will be thus wisely employed. This Committee proposes that first we ratify this treaty and next we pass a resolution inviting its sponsors to meet with our delegates in a convention to explore the possibilities of uniting them, within the framework of the United Nations, in a federal union, limited though it might be. Admittedly it would have to be a limited federation to begin with, but a start can and should be made. All three of the Committee's leading officers testified before the Foreign Relations Committee in support of this policy and I would earnestly commend their testimony to the study of my fellow Senators.

It will be evident that this policy has already passed a very careful scrutiny by men of the highest level of experience, whose judgment we all respect, when I say that these three leaders of the Atlantic Union Committee are: President, former Justice Owen J. Roberts of the U.S. Supreme Court; Vice Presidents, Robert P. Patterson, former Secretary of War; and Will L. Clayton, former Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

FEDERAL UNION WOULD ACHIEVE OUR PURPOSE

What is this proposal of Atlantic Union? In essence, it means that we would rely for the achievement of our prime purpose not merely on the preservation of our constitutional processes, but on the extension of these constitutional processes to govern our relations in this field with the other democracies of the North Atlantic.

Much has been said of the U.S. Constitution in the discussion of this treaty, but it seems to have been forgotten that our Constitution is itself a foreign policy. It originated as a basic foreign policy to govern the relations of sovereign States with each other, and with all the rest of the world. It began as an answer to the kind of problem we and the other Atlantic democracies now face, how to secure our liberty without another war. It began when an attempt to solve this problem by an alliance—the Articles of Confederation, in some respects much closer and stronger than the treaty before us—had failed to work even among 13 States whose people had more bonds in common than the 12 signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty.

Faced with the dangers of war, depression, unemployment, inflation despite their Articles of Confederation, the delegates of the earliest Atlantic democracies met in a convention at Philadelphia in 1787—met, to quote one of them, William Paterson of New Jersey, "as the deputies of 13 independent, sovereign States." There they worked out our Federal Constitution as the solution to their common problem in foreign policy, as the basis of their relations with each other.

They adopted it, as its preamble states: "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

How much we are reminded of this preamble by these objectives listed in the preamble of the treaty now before us:

"To safeguard the freedom, common heritage, and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law * * * to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area * * * to unite their efforts for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security."

The objectives are basically the same, now as then, but how different the policy for achieving these objectives. The North Atlantic Treaty, like the Articles of Confederation, forms a mere alliance of governments; the Constitution of the United States formed a Federal Union of their people, with powers divided between their new common Government and their separate State governments with a view to securing thereby the freedom, prosperity, and peace of all their citizens, and keeping government obedient to them.

With this Federal Union man-to-man instead of government-to-government policy toward each other, the people of the 13 States peacefully settled 11 territorial disputes in which their governments were engaged under the Articles of Confederation—disputes that in some bases threatened peace. They quickly put the dollar—then "not worth a continental"—on a firm foundation, changed bankruptcy to boom, converted depression into the greatest and most enduring prosperity the world has ever known.

THE CONSTITUTION—OUR FORGOTTEN FOREIGN POLICY

The history of the United States since the establishment of the Constitution down to our times has been the extension of this foreign policy of federating with men instead of merely allying with states. This policy of Federal Union which once governed the relations of only 13 States and hardly 3 million free people now governs the relations of 48 States and 143 million free people of all creeds, colors, and nationalities. It has not been perfect, but it has secured unprecedented liberty, prosperity, and peace to the citizens of every State that adopted it.

With one exception every generation of our people has gone on extending to more and more States and more and more men this policy of a common free government, a common defense force, a common currency, a common postage stamp, a common market, a common bill of rights, a common guarantee of the independent right of the people of each State in the Union, large or small, to govern themselves as they see fit in every field which they have not transferred to the Federal Union.

The one exception, the one generation that has not gone on extending the area governed by this great foreign policy that converts foreign relations into domestic relations—is our own generation. We have mistaken the Constitution for a purely domestic or national policy. Both our great parties and all their administrations have forgotten, through all the problem-crowded years since 1914, that the Constitution began as a foreign policy, and has proved ever since the best foreign policy that any free people can practice toward other free peoples. During this period they and the great institutions that specialize in international relations and peace have been exploring and propagating all kinds of solutions to our foreign problem—all, that is, but the one which the Federal Constitution itself represents. The result is that we have gone from one world war to another world war, from one league to another. We have gone from conflict with one aggressive autocrat to a still more menacing one. For all our plans and policies, and for all our poured-out treasure and blood, we find ourselves with recovery receding and bankruptcy threatening part of the free. And we face a formidable dictatorship whose knout rules from Berlin to the Sea of Japan, whose lieutenants have only recently overrun China and whose fifth columnists are to be found in every nation.

It is high time, I say, that our Federal Union Constitution ceased to be the forgotten foreign policy of the United States.

SEVEN REASONS FOR EXPLORING UNION

Consider for a moment the great and immediate advantages, we would gain if we followed up the ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty by calling in our time another federal convention merely to explore, with the other sponsors of this pact, the possibilities of achieving our prime purpose—and theirs—by applying the principles of our Constitution to form another, though limited, a great Atlantic union of the free. Let me mention only seven of the advantages to be gained merely by attempting to work out a similar constitution with them:

First. By promptly following up the pact with the convocation of this federal convention, we give—and get—a much stronger guarantee than we do by the present treaty. The potential aggressor then will know for certain that if he attacks any of the

democracies of the convention all the others will spring to its rescue. No one can doubt that every signatory of the pact would thus react if another member were attacked while sitting in a constitutional convention with it. The best guarantee is thus given each democracy by all—the kind of guarantee that is needed to impress all the world and Moscow most of all—and yet it involves no further legal commitment.

Second. The Kremlin would know that a federal convention meant that we were working on something far more formidable than the best staff agreements that can be made under an alliance—that the democracies were aiming to create a federal defense force.

WOULD CUT COST OF DEFENSE

Third. By the same token the Kremlin would also know that the democracies were on the road toward securing much stronger armed power at much less cost—thus freeing more production for civilian recovery, and ending the Soviet hope of economic disaster delivering Europe to communism without a battle.

Fourth. The Kremlin would be thrown at once into this dilemma: The more hostile it was toward the convention, the more it would thereby hasten the last thing the Kremlin could want—agreement by the Atlantic democracies on a federal constitution.

Fifth. The calling of the convention would not interfere with the work of the ECA or with the creation of the council which the North Atlantic Treaty calls for, or its implementation in other respects, or the rearmament of Western Europe. It would allow us to supplement these first-aid measures by tackling simultaneously the three major questions—economic, monetary, and military—which we are now trying to handle only piecemeal. The fact is that they are so closely interrelated that the best hope of solving them lies in wrapping them up in one package—as was done in the Federal Convention which framed our Constitution in 1787.

Psychology plays an important role in business affairs. Merely by rousing the hope of ending such problems as the dollar shortage, through the creation of a common currency, and the immense stimulus to production that federation brings, the calling of the convention would help prevent the present recession from developing disastrously.

TAKES DICTATOR BY SURPRISE

Sixth. The psychological side is no less important as regards the cold war. To overcome dictatorship by the other kind of war the young, as I said earlier, have to be bold. The achievement of our prime purpose of decisively turning the tide against dictatorship without war requires boldness, too, but not in the boys—it requires it of us, here in this hall and in the executive branch. It

requires us to "get there fustest with the mostest," to take the aging revolutionists in the Kremlin by surprise, to rock them off their balance by swiftly following ratification of this North Atlantic Treaty with the calling of an Atlantic Federal Convention. Our ratification of this treaty will surprise no one, and certainly not the Kremlin. But for us to call this constitutional convention will do more than make dictators feel weak in the knees. It will come as a great and pleasant surprise to many Americans. It will give all our citizens, and free men and women everywhere, the unbeatable feeling that comes when your free institutions surpass your fondest hopes just when you feared they were failing.

Seventh. By merely calling this convention, we get all these advantages, and this added one, too: We gain all this with no commitment except the obligation to explore as earnestly and carefully and honestly as we can the possibility of federating with other democracies on the basis of our own constitutional principles. Impressive as the term "Constitutional Convention" rightly is, yet such a convention cannot possibly commit those who call or attend it to anything more than a serious attempt to work out a better system of governing their relations than the one that exists. To stress this point is not to finagle, or deprive the convention of its psychological effect. Democracy itself forbids any democracy to commit its people to any constitution before they have seen it.

Democracy requires us and every democracy to reserve to the people the right to ratify or reject any constitution a convention may draft. We can lose nothing by calling this convention—and we stand to gain more than anyone can imagine.

The question naturally arises as to what support this proposal for a convention to explore the possibilities of a North Atlantic federation has among the people of this country and all the other Atlantic union nations. I have a definite feeling that the people are far ahead of us Members of Congress in their thinking on means and methods of maintaining peace. All the polls show that the people definitely want our country to take the lead in this regard.

In the State of Tenessee, in the last election, I made the proposal for a limited federal union of the North Atlantic democracies an issue in the campaign and the proposal met a hearty response from the people of the Volunteer State. Other Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives from other States have told me that they had similar experiences in their campaigns. The people unquestionably want Congress to take those steps that may be best calculated to preserve peace and avoid a third and devastating world war.

The people of the other nations involved have the same attitude, in my opinion. I have had the opportunity of talking with a number of members of some of the legislative bodies of the various

countries included in the Atlantic Pact and with private citizens of those countries. They agree that the treaty is a useful and necessary interim measure but that we can never have a real unification of the armed forces of the nations involved or a common foreign policy or a necessary economic cooperation until we have a limited federation. The attitude of most statesmen of other North Atlantic democracies with whom I have talked is very well summed up by an expression of Jean Monnet who is a distinguished French leader and statesman. In the Chicago Sun of June 11, 1949, Monsieur Monnet is quoted as saying:

"Now it seems quite certain to me that, if left to ourselves, we of Western Europe will organize nothing that matters. We will talk a lot and make some little arrangements between countries that actually don't count very much.

"We will have all kinds of treaties, pacts, alliances, unions, councils, leagues. But no one European country will give up anything it considers important for the sake of the larger unity. France and Britain won't get together, as they must, and decide what must be done with the Germans.

"There is one big hope at present, but I am rather inclined to think it is only a hope. If your Government in Washington were willing to offer free Europe an Atlantic federation, an Atlantic society, it might awaken us to the revolutionary possibilities of our age."

By Representative George M. Rhodes, of Pennsylvania

Mr. Speaker, back in 1952 an economist from Denver University and another from Pennsylvania State made a rating based on expert judgment as to the most competent men in the U.S. Senate. A group of political scientists specializing in legislation of different political faiths and geographical locations were asked for their opinion based in personal intelligence, grasp of issues, legislative ability, and personal integrity. The Philadelphia Bulletin of February 29, 1952, listed those selected as the 10 best. I will mention only the top two for the purpose of inserting articles and editorials in tribute to the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER of Tennessee.

Senator KEFAUVER at that time was selected as the second best of our national legislators, the top selection being Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois.

Since 1952 Senator KEFAUVER has become better known to people in all parts of the Nation as a man of high principles, integrity, and dedication to the public welfare. He has made an excellent record that will go down in history. His stature is sure to grow with passing time.

With permission of the House, Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks the following editorials and newspaper articles which pay well-deserved tributes to the courageous Senator from Tennessee:

[From Newsweek]

PEOPLE'S CHOICE

Tennessee's CAREY ESTES KEFAUVER provided many a surprise. As an obscure Congressman he surprised a powerful foe, Memphis' late Boss Ed Crump, by vaulting into the U.S. Senate in 1948. A nation, too, was soon surprised that Tennessee should produce such a crusading liberal, an anomaly in a South best known for its Bilbos and Eastlands and Ross Barnetts. KEFAUVER was such a big man, 6 feet 3 and 200 pounds, that new acquaintances were apt to be surprised to find that he spoke with an extraordinarily gentle voice.

Not surprisingly, ESTES KEFAUVER was quietly fighting the Nation's mammoth communications industry in the Senate last Thursday.

To allow private business to profit freely from publicly financed satellite developments, he argued, was sheer giveaway. KEFAUVER had to retire from the debate, feeling what he believed to be severe indigestion. But doctors at Bethesda Naval Hospital diagnosed something more serious—a heart attack—and promptly ordered KEFAUVER to bed. The next night, as his red-haired wife, Nancy, and two of their four children were flying in from a Colorado vacation to be with him, the main artery from the Senator's heart ruptured. ESTES KEFAUVER, at 60, was dead.

He had come a long way from the plain, dusty country town of Madisonville, Tenn., where, working hard on his father's dairy farm, he became strong enough to push the caps off soft-drink bottles with his thumb. Even as a boy, KEFAUVER knew what the country was to learn well in 1952 and 1956. "My ambition is to be President of the United States," he wrote at 17, in a classmate's friendship book.

KEFAUVER came tantalizingly close to realizing his boyhood dream in 1952, when he led the first two ballots at the Democratic National Convention. Tirelessly, he had stumped the Nation, winning 14 of 17 State primaries with virtually no organization. His was a campaign of perpetual-motion handshakes, a wide, friendly, jack-o'-lantern smile, and a simple soft-spoken declaration: "My name's ESTES KEFAUVER, and I'm running for President of the United States." The folksy technique proved insufficient. Organized politicians two times turned back KEFAUVER in favor of Adlai Stevenson. But the Keef, as some friends spoke of him, beat out John F. Kennedy for the consolation prize, second spot on the ticket, in 1956.

By then KEFAUVER's place as a national figure had long since been assured. Millions of Americans got to know his long-jawed, wide-mouthed face in 1950–51 during televised hearings held by the Senate Crime Investigating Committee; many of the country's biggest racketeers were hauled before it. More recently KEFAUVER's Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee has investigated drug-pricing practices and criminal connections in professional boxing.

To many Americans—though he was a Yale Law School man—KEFAUVER would always remain the gangling, handshaking backwoodsman who campaigned for the U.S. Senate wearing a coonskin hat. It was a trademark he adopted after Boss Crump, whose opposition usually meant political death in Tennessee, said KEFAUVER reminded him of a pet coon that looks in one direction while reaching in another for what it really wants. KEFAUVER promptly put on his coonskin cap and gave the epithet reverse English. "I may be a pet coon," he said, "but I'm not Mr. Crump's pet coon."

KEFAUVER, in truth, was nobody's pet coon. His mulish independence and formidable courage (in 1954 he stood alone to vote against passage of the bill outlawing the Communist Party) made him a political loner, in fact, a maverick that the inner circle of the Senate could never quite accept as one of its own. "He would always stand up for what he thought was right," one colleague said, "but that doesn't make you a member of the club." And the same qualities of mind that alienated some of his southern colleagues made the national machine politicians shy away from him as he sought the Presidency.

Perhaps Keef's finest epitaph was uttered after the 1952 Democratic Convention when all his primary victories went for naught.

"ESTES' trouble," said one politician, "is that nobody loves him but the people."

[From Labor-Railroad Labor Publication]

KEFAUVER'S DEATH A GREAT LOSS TO LABOR AND NATION

Railroad workers and all other Americans suffered a heavy loss last week when Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, died in a Washington hospital. A heart attack which at first seemed mild proved fatal.

KEFAUVER, 60, literally worked himself to death for the public good. In his last 2 days, he led a group of liberal Senators in a strenuous but losing fight against another giveaway—this time of $44 million of the taxpayers' money, to the Communications Satellite Corp. dominated by giant American Telephone Co.

After long and hot debate, the Senate passed a $5.5 billion space agency authorization bill with the $44 million in it.

KEFAUVER was serving his third term in the Senate and had previously been in the House for 10 years. In his election campaigns, the wholehearted support of railroad labor and the union movement as a whole helped him overcome powerful opposition by selfish and sometimes sinister interests, who hated him for his courage and independence.

BATTLING FOR RAILMEN

In this session of the Senate, KEFAUVER was pushing his bill to declare a moratorium on railroad mergers until December 31, 1964, so as to give Congress time to study the shattering effects of the huge mergers on rail employment and the public interest.

Also, he cosponsored legislation for an investigation of railroad finances and ownership. And he cosponsored a resolution for continued negotiations in the big rail work rules dispute under the eye of a watchdog committee of Congress.

These latest actions by KEFAUVER are typical of the helpful hand he has given to rail workers and labor as a whole many times in the past.

Son of a pioneer Tennessee family, KEFAUVER won fame as an athlete at the State's university, and was elected president of the student body. He worked his way through Yale Law School, taught and practiced law in Chattanooga, helped win the fight for TVA, and was active in local and State civic affairs until he was elected to the U.S. House, where he served with great distinction.

EXPOSED UNDERWORLD

After moving up to the Senate, KEFAUVER gained national renown by his investigation of organized crime and its corrupting effects on public morals and politics. Lords of the underworld, and some political leaders, never forgave him for that, and contributed lavishly to the campaign funds of some of his opponents in later elections. Nevertheless, KEFAUVER always won.

By 1952 KEFAUVER had gained such national stature that he won 14 of the 17 State presidential primaries, but he lost out to Adlai Stevenson in the party nominating convention. The same thing happened in the 1956 presidential campaign, but he was chosen then as vice presidential nominee.

FOUGHT MONOPOLISTS

Always a leading fighter for consumers and against monopolists and price fixers, KEFAUVER conducted famed probes of price rigging in the steel, electrical equipment, drug and other industries. He succeeded in putting new teeth in the antitrust laws and stronger controls over marketing of drugs after the shocking thalidomide scandal broke.

The latest result of his battles in the drug field came on the day he died. The Federal Trade Commission ruled that six big drug manufacturers "conspired to raise and fix prices on tetracyline, the leading antibiotic drug, with sales over $100 million a year."

Success of this illegal conspiracy, the FTC said, was made possible by a patent which "Chas. Pfizer & Co., a giant of the drug industry," obtained by deceiving the U.S. Patent Office. KEFAUVER, in his reports on his drug probe, always emphasized that misuse of patents is a main foundation for the monopolistic system which makes old and ill people pay exorbitant prices for prescription drugs.

MANY TRIBUTES

Messages of tribute to KEFAUVER poured in from all over the Nation. Foremost among these was one by President Kennedy. He declared that KEFAUVER's "devotion to the public interest and

the welfare of the people made him a powerful influence." Kennedy added that his death "deprived the Nation of one of its most distinguished leaders."

Some words spoken by one of Shakespeare's characters might well be applied to ESTES KEFAUVER: "He was a man, take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again."

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 14, 1963]

THE TALL MAN FROM TENNESSEE

(By Jack Anderson)

* * * * *

This Lincoln of a man, homespun, ungainly, often stood alone in the U.S. Senate. But he stood tall.

Consider these flashbacks. 1956: KEFAUVER dug deep into his own pocket, mortgaging his home and hiring out as a lecturer, to pay off old campaign bills. Yet, as a presidential candidate in 1956, despite his campaign poverty, he refused a $10,000 contribution with strings attached.

All he had to do was condemn, in a public speech, a United Nations pronouncement against Israel. This would be worth $10,000 to his campaign, he was told. But KEFAUVER, though pro-Israel, refused to bargain for his contributions. 1954: the late Senator Joe McCarthy threatened to attack KEFAUVER in Tennessee, painting him as a political pink, if KEFAUVER accepted an invitation to speak against McCarthy in Wisconsin.

ESTES took up the warning with his staff, listened silently as each one begged him not to pick a fight with McCarthy on the eve of the Tennessee elections. He thanked them for their advice, then quietly announced his decision: "McCarthy is bad for the country. I reckon I'll have to say so."

In 1954: Stung by charges they were soft on communism, Democratic Senators introduced a bill to outlaw the Communist Party and dared the Republicans to vote for it. This would have subjected people to prosecution because of their political beliefs.

The Republicans accepted the challenge and lined up unanimously with the Democrats for the bill. Only KEFAUVER, refusing to play politics, stood against it.

His anguished political advisers warned that his stand would be misinterpreted back home, that he would be called a Red.

"The least you can do," begged a friend, phoning from Tennessee, "is duck out on the vote."

But the final rollcall was 81 to 1; KEFAUVER was the lone dissenter.

(Later, the bill was pigeonholed after FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover joined KEFAUVER in warning that it not only would be unconstitutional but would drive the Communists underground.)

In 1952, in the presidential race, KEFAUVER bucked the party bosses, beat all comers in the primaries, and entered the Democratic convention with the most pledged delegates. Still, he needed more support to win the nomination.

Texas Gov. Allen Shivers, boss of the big Texas delegation, chose this crucial moment to pay a secret call on KEFAUVER. Shivers wanted to know how the Senator felt about turning the tidelands over to the States, so the big oil companies could drill for oil.

Would KEFAUVER agree to let Congress decide the issue and not use the veto if he were elected President? "No." said KEFAUVER. Would KEFAUVER agree to turn offshore oil over to the States within a 3-mile limit? "No," KEFAUVER said again.

Thus Texas slipped irretrievably from his grasp. And he lost the nomination on the third ballot after leading on the first two.

In 1950, digging into organized crime, KEFAUVER turned over a compost pile of gangland-political connections. Deep in the pile was $2,500 contribution that crime czar Frank Costello had given to the Democratic National Committee in 1947.

"Is this to be brought out at the public hearings?" demanded Democratic leaders.

"It is," said the Senator. And it was.

In 1949, though a southerner, KEFAUVER managed to stir up the mighty wrath of the South by supporting civil rights legislation. When a resolution was offered to curb Senate filibusters, KEFAUVER at once announced support for it.

Thus the Senate was treated to the unusual spectacle of a Senator speaking with southern accent against the filibuster.

In 1920 KEFAUVER came out of the Tennessee hills to the University of Tennessee, a straw suitcase in one hand, a cap perched atop his head. Tightly drawn against his huge bulk was an ill-fitting suit, which seemed red in one light, green in another. Across his chest in a neat row were all the ribbons ESTES had accumulated for perfect attendance at Sunday school.

From this unlikely beginning, ESTES KEFAUVER went on to become editor of the college newspaper, president of the junior class, president of the All-Students Club, president of the Southern Federation of College Students, and a football star who earned the affectionate nickname "Old Ironsides."

He continued on to Yale and academic glory. He became a corporation lawyer, a Congressman, a Senator, and a presidential candidate.

But he never lost touch with the Tennessee hills, with the everyday people who make up the backbone of America.

They are the ones now who will miss him the most.

[From the United Mine Workers Journal]

WE MOURN THE DEATH OF SENATOR KEFAUVER

The UMWA joins with millions of other Americans in mourning the death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee.

Senator KEFAUVER was respected and loved by the common people of America, including the members of organized labor, for his lifelong battle against monopoly power and vested interests in American economic society—and in the U.S. Senate.

The Senator was not a member of "the club," as it is known on Capitol Hill. He was essentially a loner in that he invariably spoke out for the things in which he believed without regard to whose political toes were squashed. He was a fighting liberal in the true sense of that phrase.

In behalf of our union, UMWA President W. A. Boyle sent the following telegram to Mrs. Kefauver:

"The officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America join the millions who mourn the death of your distinguished husband, Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. We offer heartfelt condolences for your personal loss which has deprived the country of a great leader, the Senate of an outstanding Member, and the laboring people of America a true friend and stalwart champion."

Senator KEFAUVER, who died suddenly on August 10 at the age of 60, had fought all of his political life against the forces of greed and special privilege. He was a longtime friend of the UMWA and working coal miners, and his voting record in Congress down through the years was excellent. The cynical politicians of both political parties liked to picture him as something of a country bumpkin, and with typical good humor the Senator played along with them to a degree.

But the Senator was a man of honor and courage. He will be sorely missed, especially by working people who respected him and admired his intestinal fortitude in the face of much opposition from the so-called wise guys in the Nation's Capitol.

Mr. Speaker, throughout the Nation individuals and organizations continue in expressing tribute to the late Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee. I include, Mr. Speaker, the following editorials and resolution:

[From the Democrat]

A GIANT AMONG MEN

A giant among men is dead.

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, the Democratic Party's vice presidential nominee in 1956, died of a heart attack at 3:40 a.m., Sunday, August 11, in Washington.

The tall, angular Tennessean had served four terms in the House of Representatives and was elected Senator three times. He built a legend with his homey style of campaigning and his tenacious commitment to crusades that conflicted with powerful interests.

John Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, summed up the Kefauver story this way:

"Estes Kefauver was a symbol of democracy, a fighter for the people, a champion of the underdog.

"It was Estes Kefauver who exposed the framework of organized crime, who fought so successfully to protect the people from the unscrupulous in the marketplace, who exposed a conspiracy to undermine the Tennessee Valley Authority, and who laid bare fraud and deceit wherever he found it.

"He was a constant fighter. He never rested. He never gave up.

"Because of Estes Kefauver, America is a better place in which to live today. He brought great honor to his beloved State of Tennessee, to the U.S. Senate, and to America. He will always live in the hearts of Americans because he was their protector and defender."

[From the Machinist]

KEFAUVER

Estes Kefauver will be sorely missed. The lanky, slow-spoken Senator from Tennessee died a few days ago of a heart attack. In his life he had been a special friend of labor and a favorite of IAM members.

In 1956 Senator Kefauver appeared at the IAM Grand Lodge Convention at San Francisco with Adlai Stevenson. Stevenson was the Democratic nominee for President that year. Kefauver was his running mate—coonskin cap and all. Together they won the enthusiastic endorsement of the delegates.

It wasn't in the cards for Kefauver ever to be President. He was too much of a maverick for the men who dominated the Democratic Party in those years. But it was because he was independent that so many union members supported him. Kefauver was a mild-mannered man with few pretenses, but he was never afraid. He wasn't afraid of the mobsters when his investigating committee gave most Americans their first glimpse of how organized crime operated in the United States.

He showed he wasn't afraid of the private utilities when in a later investigation he uncovered the Dixon-Yates scandal that rocked the Eisenhower administration.

More recently he took on the powerful drug industry, exposing its cozy relationship with the medical profession and its profiteering on the sick and suffering.

This kind of courage in a national political figure is all too rare. Too often the courageous young men grow cagy and cautious with success.

Not so KEFAUVER. He wasn't afraid of the overlords or the underworld. More important, KEFAUVER wasn't afraid of the people who supported him. He enjoyed campaigning among people, standing outside factory gates early in the morning talking to men and women on their way to work, shaking hands as he drawled in his gentle voice, "I'm ESTES KEFAUVER. Will you help me?"

Some politicians were afraid of KEFAUVER. But not working people whose causes he championed. His overwhelming reelection to the Senate in 1960 demonstrated that.

John T. O'Brien, national coordinator of the Machinists Nonpartisan Political League, worked with KEFAUVER in his campaign for the presidential nomination in 1952. O'Brien says:

"ESTES KEFAUVER taught the people that government influences and directs the course of history and that their wishes and their viewpoint can be reflected in government policies if they care enough to influence government. This was his greatest contribution."

We wish there were more Senators like KEFAUVER. Perhaps we could get Congress moving again. Without him, the job will be harder than ever.

[From the Boyertown Times]

SENATOR KEFAUVER

The death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, leaves a void in the U.S. Senate which will be difficult to fill. The tall, folksy southerner earned the respect of his colleagues in the Congress, the fear and hatred of many criminal elements, and the love of his constituents in his native State.

Senator KEFAUVER made the coonskin cap of Davy Crockett and Tennessee a national political symbol when he ran for the Vice Presidency in 1956 * * *.

A man of humility, KEFAUVER amiably and without heat or rancor, conducted his political campaigns in Tennessee and was sent to the Congress each time he asked by great majorities of the people who regarded him with a brotherly affection accorded only those who have proved that they truly represent the people.

His congressional campaigns against crime in the Nation brought forcibly to the people the true nature and seriousness of organized criminality in the country and resulted in the first truly concerted

moves to control it. Likewise, his investigations of business monopolies served to protect the people from many unfair monopolistic practices.

Senator KEFAUVER, although he never gained higher position than that of Senator, nevertheless gained in his lifetime the love of his fellow Tennesseans and the respect of every American.

Not all of us can gain that much, and Senator KEFAUVER in his years of service as a Representative and as a Senator brought to himself and to his State nothing but the highest honor and the utmost respect.

The Senate of the United States is the poorer without him.

RESOLUTION BY THE RAILWAY LABOR EXECUTIVES' ASSOCIATION ESTABLISHES LIBRARY FUND IN MEMORY OF SENATOR KEFAUVER

In the sudden, untimely death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, on Saturday, August 10, 1963, railroad workers lost one of their stanchest friends in public life.

The tall, Lincolnesque statesman, stricken by a sudden heart attack at the peak of his career in the Senate, will be greatly missed by all the working men and women of the Nation, because he was a public servant of uncompromising courage and integrity who worked until the very end to protect the interests of all of the people. No legislator of the 20th century has been more the friend of the average citizen or a stronger foe of the forces of greed and corruption.

From the day he left his home on Lookout Mountain in Tennessee to take his seat in the 76th Congress, ESTES KEFAUVER remained dedicated to service of American ideals and the common people. He was the champion of the weak against the powerful, of the truth against falsehood, of the democratic principles of government by law against the forces of crime and lawlessness. Of him it can truly be said that he was big enough to make the right kind of enemies.

ESTES KEFAUVER's courage in working for the public interest won him many, many loyal and devoted friends, and railroad workers, without exception, were always proud to be among those who valued and respected his friendship and benefited from his help. In recent months, for example, he had done more than any other Member of the Congress to focus public attention upon the evils of the present railroad merger movement, and he was completing plans for a new series of hearings on this subject by his Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee at the time of his death. His death is a major loss to railroad workers everywhere: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the chief executives of the 24 standard railroad labor organizations, assembled August 15, 1963, at a meeting of the Railway Labor Executives' Organization in Washington, do hereby express deep and sincere sorrow at the untimely death of Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, our friend and the friend of all the men and women who toil. We have already honored his memory by standing for a moment of silence in the midst of our deliberations. We now resolve to honor his memory in the future by pledging to carry on the good fight he led so ably against the forces of greed and corruption in American society; be it further

Resolved, That this association hereby contributes $5,000 from the RLEA emergency relief fund to help establish a Kefauver Memorial Library Fund for the purpose of starting a library in his honor in his native State of Tennessee.

[From the Washington Evening Star]

KEFAUVER: A MEMORABLE LONER—TENNESSEE SENATOR FOUND IN FOREFRONT ON RIGHTS AND AS AN INTERNATIONALIST

(By Doris Fleeson)

ESTES KEFAUVER had a sure instinct for the family troubles of Americans. He seemed always to be sitting down at tables with people to talk about the bad influences which might affect their children, the high cost of drugs, their utility and grocery bills.

The stuff of daily life for most people was his specialty. His native capacities, joined with a law degree from Yale, helped him to use the political jungle most hostile to reform in Washington, the Senate Judiciary Committee, as a forum for these issues.

He was often ahead of Tennessee opinion, as in civil rights. He refused to sign the southern manifesto against school desegregation and took no part in southern filibusters or caucuses. At the same time, he was an ardent internationalist and sowed much seed in fields where the more sophisticated who scorned him as naive now reap.

Against such a man the Senate establishment is helpless, but he will always have a following among Americans. It is rarely big enough, as it was not in the case of Senator KEFAUVER. But the gangling, soft-spoken Tennessean plugged away, a consistent source of frustration to the predominantly southern leadership which could not interest him in its niggling concerns and often took petty revenge.

Most Senate loners merely criticize and then go off to Burning Tree. Senator KEFAUVER worked hard on what interested him and got attention. The great constitutionalists of the Senate will hardly be missed by so many of the folks.

Reporters who slog around the chicken-and-mashed-potato circuit with aspirants for the Presidency see few well-managed campaigns, but they are unanimous that "KEFE" was anchor man of the whole class. In a KEFAUVER campaign, nobody was ever on time, clean, comfortable or well fed, and deadliness seemed to have no real existence.

But somehow it was fun, more fun than with the better organized driving types. KEFAUVER veterans still rather look down on those who did not serve with them on their special St. Crispin's Day. It was the more remarkable because few really shared what they could make of his often cloudly expressed political philosophy. One reluctant admirer finally worked it out that one couldn't rebuff a big, friendly dog, even if his paws were muddy.

The Senate has always had to rely on its individualists for its press. This stale and stalled one will be much poorer for the loss of ESTES KEFAUVER.

He has no permanent legislative monument; the Senate establishment saw to that. But while they dismissed him as superficial and a tilter at windmills, a great many powerful interests will find their lobbying tasks less hard.

[From Trainman News, Aug. 19, 1963]

A TRUE FRIEND

Members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and all others who toil for a living will miss Senator ESTES KEFAUVER. He was on their side all the way.

Whenever issues of vital importance to their well-being were up for decision and a friend was needed to defend their interests, it was practically a certainty that the Tennessee Democrat would line up on the side of working people—ready to do battle with those who represented the special interest groups.

He did it time and again. Possessing great tenacity with a determination that could not be overcome despite great odds against him, Senator KEFAUVER fought on to see justice win out.

BRT'ers and other railroad workers will never forget his dedicated efforts to slow up the onrush of rail mergers facing the Nation until the proposed consolidations and all their ramifications could be investigated by Congress and recommendations made for a rail merger policy.

Shortly before his untimely death, Senator KEFAUVER stepped forward again to perform an important role for railroad workers in defense of democracy on the collective-bargaining front. He joined with nine other Senators in cosponsorship of the rail-labor-backed Engle substitute for Senate Joint Resolution 102, in opposition to the compulsory arbitration measure proposed by President John

F. Kennedy in the work rules dispute on the Nation's railroads. The Engle substitute would have collective bargaining resumed under the eyes of a special congressional "watchdog" committee.

"In the passing of ESTES KEFAUVER, the Nation has lost a great leader. He was a champion of good government, the common man's friend. His efforts in behalf of the wage earner will long be remembered. His passing leaves a gap in the annals of time that will be difficult to fill. May he rest in peace," declared Joe T. Steadham (1044), retired BRT Texas State representative, in paying tribute to Senator KEFAUVER.

Those words will be echoed for many a day wherever "rails" congregate.

Senator KEFAUVER was a true friend.

By Senator Mike Mansfield, of Montana

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed an article entitled "He Was a Symbol to Plain People." The article, written by Charles Bartlett, was published in the Washington Evening Star of August 13. I can add nothing to the article; it speaks for itself.

HE WAS A SYMBOL TO PLAIN PEOPLE—SENATOR KEFAUVER'S LIBERALISM VIEWED AS AN INSTINCT TO HELP THE LITTLE MAN

(By Charles Bartlett)

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER combined oxlike strength with an extremely gentle spirit, and his sudden death at 60 is a testimony to the demanding rigors of American public life.

Senator KEFAUVER played his political role with far more drive and thoroughness than most politicians. His campaigns in the presidential primaries of 1952 and 1956 set a pace that none of his competitors could emulate. He applied awesome stamina and bold daring to achieve a degree of national support that astounded the hierarchy of the Democratic Party.

He became in these travels a symbol to plain people in small towns who had been attracted by his crusade against the mobsters and found assurance in his unadorned, halting manner. He was one of them who had left his own small town and gone forth to slay the dragons in the cities.

The significance of Senator KEFAUVER'S grueling forays into national politics lay less in his ultimate capture in 1956 of the Democratic vice presidential nomination than in his awakening of many small people to the potential of their strength in politics. He set a pattern of handshaking through the grassroots and passing along the factory workbenches which has since been emulated by a majority of the successful candidates for office.

His untimely death is almost certainly a consequence of these exertions, which became a physical ordeal of massive proportions as he moved from State to State to contend, with bare financial backing, against the party organizations. An incredibly robust man when he began, ESTES KEFAUVER never seemed as hearty after it was over.

His odysseys underlined the points that running for President is forbiddingly expensive and that the present random pattern of primaries is a haphazard method of selecting nominees for the highest office in the land. His experiences will have been the

initiating force if Congress someday enacts a national presidential preference primary.

Senator KEFAUVER did not succeed in national politics because he was a loner, invariably withdrawn in the company of his colleagues, and because he was more liberal than his times. He carried with him a mountaineer's reserve which balked at easy congeniality and often masked a very deep and sincere kindness.

He seemed to like doing things for people more than he liked talking to them and he never pulled back from the chance to perform a gentle act or remember a friend. Few of his colleagues knew him well, but many of them regarded him as a uniquely human and admirable individual.

His liberalism seemed to stem from an instinct to help the little man and a partiality to causes. He was dogged in his causes and stubborn in pressing them in a hostile climate. He was a populist in his tilts against varying elements of the status quo and he brought qualities of persistence and courage to these ventures which distinguished him among liberals.

At the start of his presidential campaign in 1952, an overzealous supporter brought a live and angry raccoon in a cage to a KEFAUVER rally. The coon was his campaign symbol and the photographers pressed around. "ESTES reach in and take him out," someone cried.

No one would cheerfully have braved those teeth for the doubtful advantage of a photograph. But the Senator compressed his lips in a characteristic expression and complied. This was, like the Presidential race itself and many other chapters in ESTES KEFAUVER's career, the gesture of a man who could not bring himself to turn his back on a challenge.

By Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon

Mr. President, at the recent 24th quadrennial convention of the Retail Clerks International Association, AFL–CIO, in Chicago, my good friend and late colleague, the able senior Senator from Tennessee, Mr. KEFAUVER, presented some illuminating and startling facts which merit the attention of us all.

Therefore, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator KEFAUVER's address be printed. It is a fitting reminder of the statesmanship of this great Senator who has been called from us.

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE ESTES KEFAUVER, U.S. SENATOR FROM TENNESSEE

Senator KEFAUVER. President Jim Suffridge and distinguished officers and delegates to this excellent convention of the Retail Clerks International Association, I want you to know that I was highly honored to be asked to be with you again. This is my third occasion. The last time, as Jim said, was in 1955 in New York.

I notice by some of the speeches I have been reading, that Jim Suffridge is being claimed by some other States. I saw where Senator Kuchel was out here speaking and he said he was especially glad to be here because Jim is from California.

But Jim is one of the finest citizens we have ever produced from the Volunteer State of Tennessee, and we are proud of him, as you are.

I heard that Joe DeSilva tried to top Senator Kuchel, by also claiming Jim as a Californian. Well, Joe is always bright and imaginative and doing things in a way to credit what Tennessee does and he is my old and good friend.

I have been reading the program that you have had at this very wonderful convention. I see where you have had almost every Member of the U.S. Senate, or at least some of the very best ones. I guess your convention is the reason we haven't been able to get a quorum in the Senate for some 10 days. [Laughter and applause.]

And I am happy to be here with my good Illinois congressional friend, Kenneth Gray. I didn't get here in time to hear his speech. In case you didn't know it, he is not only a good Congressman and a fine speaker, but he is the best magician we have in the Congress and one of the best in the country. The fact is that I am

sort of an amateur magician myself. I can make a rope disappear. And Ken and I sometimes put on performances together. Maybe you will give us the chance to perform the next time you invite us.

I think it is wonderful that you are celebrating your diamond jubilee convention. Seventy-five years is a long time in this age. Seventy-five years ago there were more horses than horseless carriages. For one who can remember that far back, like my good friend Jim Suffridge, it is difficult to imagine that in the lifetime of younger folks such as Chuck Lipsen and myself that daily trips to the moon may become commonplace.

Almost everywhere you look there is a remarkable change. Take this very union, for example. When Jim Suffridge took over as president in 1944, it was relatively small. I just want to say parenthetically that this is a fine example for people to follow in connection with the U.S. Senate. I just hope the fine delegation here from Tennessee and all the retail clerks who have been so very wonderful to me in my campaigns will remember I want to be in the Senate as long as Jim has been president of the Retail Clerks International.

Today yours is the sixth largest affiliate of the AFL–CIO and the largest organization in the world exclusively for retail employees. I saw where the Ford Foundation says that you will soon become the first or second largest union in the AFL–CIO, and I expect they are right. This not only speaks eloquently for the fine organizing work of your leadership and the attraction that your high standards and your goals have for those in retailing. It also speaks well of the fine organization that you have.

There never has been any rumor of any dishonesty or any shortcuts among the members of this organization. Jim Suffridge has given you excellent leadership, as have your other officers.

I have observed that in your local organizations you have excellent leadership, not only teaching your people to be good members, but to do a good job in salesmanship, be good citizens in the community, and take part in political activities, whatever their convictions may be. In that regard I want to say that Chuck Lipsen has done a very good job in helping direct this part of your activity.

I think it is typical of your great organization that you have the James A. Suffridge scholarship fund to inspire young people to get an education. This, I want to say, is unionism at its best.

So your progress is due in large part to the fine leadership and to the membership that you have. I want to say that your progress is also an important sign of the vast changes that have taken place in the last few years and that are continuing to take place in our economy and indeed in the entire frame of our lives.

As Margaret Mead has so wisely observed, "The most vivid truth

of our age is that no one will live all his life in the world into which he was born, and no one will die in the world in which he worked in his maturity."

In the American society of 75 years ago, when this organization was founded, farming was the primary way of life. Many families represented largely self-sufficient economic units; they grew their own food and made their own clothes. What little they bought, they most likely got from a general store with a limited stock a day's buggy ride away.

Today our way of life is primarily urban. Only about 11 percent of our people now live on farms, and that proportion is less than half what it was in the 1930's. But whether we live in the city or on the farm, however, we now buy virtually all of the necessities and social amenities of life in the marketplace.

And what of the dimensions and nature of that marketplace? The general store, if it exists at all, is a curiosity of the past. Its place has been taken by a vast assortment of retail outlets—supermarkets, discount houses, huge drugstores that sell everything from aspirin to automobile tires.

No longer is the marketplace bounded by the limits of a city, a State, a nation, or even a hemisphere. As many of you know, today's shopper can walk into almost any store and comparison shop not just among two or more American-made products in the same line but also among many competing products made in the Far East or Europe or, in some cases, Latin America.

The impact of these changes is being felt everywhere. But in many areas it is not being dealt with as it should be. I know that all of you are familiar with the Federal-State-local program of vocational education in our public schools, particularly that part having to do with the distributive trades. A Presidential Panel which studied this program recently reported that we are far behind in training and retraining our people adequately for our changing world of work.

In one study of more than 3,700 high schools, only 5 percent offered distributive education courses. Another study revealed that out of every 200 persons employed in wholesale and retail trade, only 1 had received any formal training in that field. I would recommend that some of you get to the members of the school boards in your communities. Moreover, federally assisted programs of distributive education are still limited to those in which students receive a part of their instruction in an actual job; no preemployment programs are aided by Federal funds. I think that they should be. I think that we are missing a bit if we do not tailor these programs to fit the need as well as the opportunities for trained people in retailing.

The demand for such people is expanding. And, as the Presidential Panel points out, graduates of these programs are less likely to be unemployed; they do in fact work in the occupations for which they prepare; and the training they receive increases their subsequent earnings.

I know that you, your locals, and your national organization will do a great deal to try to teach and to show the members of your organization to be good salesmen; how to be fair to the customer; how to know the commodities you are selling so you can explain them; but I do think that educational programs in the distributive field would also be of great value.

From the other side of the counter, the consumer's side, there is also a need for action at the Federal Government level. Businessmen have their Department of Commerce; workers have their Department of Labor; and farmers, though their number is dwindling, still have their Department of Agriculture.

Yet, nowhere in the Federal Government is there any official, independent voice for the consumer—and that term applies to just about everybody these days.

When the Interstate Commerce Commission makes a decision on railroad rates, or the Federal Power Commission on gas rates, or the Federal Trade Commission on an unfair trade practice, or the Federal Communications Commission on telephone rates, all of us as consumers have a direct stake. However, the trouble is that these agencies do not speak for the main consumer. The trouble is that these agencies have gotten to be referees between big contesting corporations without very much regard to what effect it is going to have on the consumer.

I am sponsoring a bill, along with 27 other Senators, to establish a Consumer Council. The idea would be that consideration would be given at the top level of Government to the points of view of the consumer. The viewpoint will be given before the regulatory agencies, before the committees of Congress, and even in the courts. What effect action by these groups will have on the consumer will be presented. Here a record would be built that actually would help the consumer. It would be intended that this be a clearinghouse for consumer activities throughout the Nation.

There are other bills intended to help the consumer and the public which I think ought to be passed and some of which I know have been described here. I am sure that the great Senator from Illinois, Paul Douglas, told you about the truth-in-lending bill.

Somebody selling on credit or on interest should be willing to let you know how much interest they are really charging. I know it is not a very difficult matter to know.

A lot of people buy things by paying exorbitant rates of interest and may not even know that they are doing so. This is just a matter of being fair and open and honest with the customer. These days, if you are like I am, most everything of any importance you purchase is on the installment plan, where we pay interest. Another bill of great importance is the truth-in-packaging bill, which is largely sponsored by Senator Hart, of Michigan.

Unfortunately the supermarkets of today do not have enough people in them to explain to the housewife the selections she has in corn flakes or in the various other commodities on the shelf. The container is largely the salesman in many of these supermarkets, and yet we find the number of ounces a bottle contains is written in such fine print that nobody can see it. We find, in connection with cereals and insecticides and many other things, that about half the package contains air.

One manufacturer, for instance, will make a large package and have it two-thirds filled and the rest will be empty. Then another, in order to keep pace and not be taken advantage of, will sometimes have to do the same thing.

We have a "5 cents off" but it doesn't say what it is off of.

We have a big gallon, and yet I believe that every gallon is just about the same.

We have 3¾ ounces for 69 cents and 5.2 ounces for 97 cents. You would have to have an IBM machine to figure out which one you were receiving the better buy on.

I think the package ought to contain information which will enable the customer to sensibly decide what she wants to get and where she is getting the best purchase. This is all the truth-in-packaging bill provides.

I am happy to say this measure has been favorably reported on by our Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee. I would urge you to give it your favorable consideration.

In discussing the many changes that have taken place in our way of life over the years one cannot overlook the fact that we are living longer and, of course, in relation to this, we can consider many things: better food, better medical care, better housing, better and safer drugs.

As you know, because many of you helped to get it through, the last Congress enacted a very important piece of drug legislation that has become known as the Kefauver drug law. This law does many things that ought to result in better, safer, and more effective drugs.

It imposes strict rules on factory inspections and manufacturing quality. It requires new drugs to be effective as well as safe. It gives the Food and Drug Administration greater latitude in considering new drug applications. It requires that the information

which drug manufacturers put out to physicians about drugs be more honest about their harmful side effects, as well as their helpful properties.

Our committee received more complaints about the unreasonableness of prescription price than anything else. Drugs that would cost 50 cents for a person who would have to take several a day, maybe for arthritis, would be less to other individuals.

We found that by whatever test you made, whether by cost of production, whether by comparison with what drugs sell for in other countries or by the way that the Government and the States purchase them, there wasn't any reason whatsoever for any of these drugs being as high priced as they were. I am sorry to say that while some of them have come down many of them still are high priced and unreasonable.

Anyway, we did enact a drug law that has some very good features in it. For instance, whereas medicine given to animals is required to be effective, medicines prescribed for individuals might not contain anything effective or worthwhile at all. For example, if it were pure and would not kill you, such as a glass of water with a little coloring in it, it could be sold as medicine.

We found that factories were not being inspected and that some manufacturers would not allow them to be inspected. We also found that there were a lot of bathtub operations and so now all manufacturers have to register before they go into business.

We found also that many of the companies were not correctly stating what a drug would do and that in many cases the side effects might result in cataracts or even in death under some circumstances. Of course, in many cases, some of the additives contained therein were not stated in the advertisements pertaining to the various drugs. Well, this has now been corrected.

We also require that the generic name be in type half as large as the trade name and that, of course, is very important relative to the purchasing of drugs. Do you know that if you can get your doctor to prescribe some drugs by generic name, such as prednisone, which is for arthritics—that is the generic name—the cost to you will be about 2 cents a tablet. However, the very same material, when purchased by its trade name from one of the larger companies, would cost you 20 or 28 cents per tablet.

Some of you who have high blood pressure purchase isuprene, which is the generic name of the drug. You can get a thousand tablets for $1.50. However, the very same material purchased at the same place by the trade name would cost you about $39.50 per thousand.

We are making great strides in many places and getting people, States, and hospitals to buy by generic name. However, some drugs are patented. In that case, whether the generic or trade

name is used, the price is just the same. For example, it costs about 1 cent to make antibiotic tablets according to Pfizer. This product is sold to the drugstore for about 27 cents. However, you pay 50 cents for the same tablet. Incidentally, they are selling the same thing, even though made here, in some foreign countries for very much less.

I am in favor of people having protection in connection with patents; by the same token, I think the health and the welfare of our people ought to have some consideration.

I have introduced a bill concerning the markup. If markup is more than 500 percent—five times the cost of production plus allocation for research, plus overhead, plus everything else—and they continue to insist on selling it for more than 5 times the cost, then the bill provides for cross licensing so that other manufacturers can compete upon paying an 8-percent royalty.

The United States, Panama, and Brazil are the only free nations in the world where there is not some way of getting drugs to people that need them, where the price is unreasonable, or where they are not being properly distributed.

Now, then, before closing, I want to touch on two matters that I know are of interest to you.

There has been an effort for quite a long time to put the labor people and organizations under the antitrust laws. It sounds simple, easy, and extremely reasonable to say that we will just put the unions under the antitrust laws and there are some bills before the Judiciary Committee for the purpose. I don't think that the public generally recognizes what that would mean.

The antitrust laws were not made to apply to a man's labor. A man's labor, his activity and work, is not a commodity in commerce. That has always been the history and the attitude that we have taken.

Furthermore, if you simply applied the antitrust laws to labor, that would mean two people could not get together in a concert of action for the purpose of trying to get better working conditions or better wages. I don't want any part of that insofar as I am concerned. The labor movement is not going to be destroyed by placing it under the Sherman or Clayton antitrust laws. [Applause.]

I also noted there is a great deal of interest in the so-called right-to-work laws that too many of our States have. For my part, I voted against the Taft-Hartley Act. [Applause.] I voted to strike out the provision that would allow States to have right-to-work laws. [Applause.] There is still a lot of interest in that in the Congress of the United States.

Now, this matter of right to work may sound pretty good. Of course, everyone likes to have a right to work, but this is really

just another effort to make it very difficult for you to organize, to suppress labor organizations, to have different rules applicable in different States even though they might be the same manufacturing plants and to allow some to get a free ride even though they contribute nothing in the way of organization and anything in the way of dues. If I were a member of a State legislature, I would certainly vote against a right-to-work law in that State. [Applause.]

I think the Congress could do more or better work if we had better information and if we had better people and teamwork between the legislative and executive branches. I would like to tell you about another effort that some of us are interested in and that is that at the present time we all serve on two committees in the Senate. I cannot even keep up with what is going on in these two committees let alone know about Foreign Relations, Commerce, and the many other committees.

Therefore, we need to have some way so that the Members of Congress can have an opportunity of hearing from the Cabinet members face to face every so often about their problems—asking them questions, getting reports from them—so that we can have better communication. This would be good for the Congress, it would be good for the Cabinet members, and it also would be good for the country because we all need to know more about decisions that are being made—the problems of government and the work of the Congress and the executive branch of the Government.

Sometimes bad legislation slips by and becomes law because Senators and Representatives are not as well informed as they ought to be. I doubt that the communications satellite giveaway bill would have gotten through last summer if the heads of the various agencies concerned had been invited onto the Senate floor to answer questions.

I would like to say that we have a great country; we have made the most remarkable educational and economic growth and development of any people in the world. A large part of that has been due to the free labor union movement, where you have worked for progressive programs, where you have taken an interest in politics and in the affairs of your communities. I congratulate your members and the members of your locals upon the fact that in every town I visit I always find some members of the retail clerks taking part in those efforts for the good of government and for the programs for your people.

This country of ours is blessed with the finest institutions in the world, a democratic government, a prosperous labor movement, and a free enterprise society that has given us things to make our work easier and our free time more pleasant.

However, you know as well as I that the best institutions stay in step with the times. A minimum wage of 75 cents an hour may have been adequate one, two, or three decades ago, but everyone agrees this would be far from adequate today and so it is with the other institutions of our society.

The course that I have always tried to follow, and I think that your fine organization follows under your president and your other officers, is the one which reflects the past and tries to carry the good things of the past forward into the present, but it is also the course that recognizes that there is no returning to that which is gone. The problems of the sixties are different from those of the thirties or forties. They require new solutions, new ingenuity, new boldness, new imagination.

In this 75th anniversary year of the Retail Clerks International Association you can look back with genuine pride upon a past of great accomplishment for the benefit of your growing membership and of society generally. At the same time, I am sure that you and your leaders are looking forward to the challenges of the future, setting new goals, planning new achievements.

I congratulate you for what has gone before and extend best wishes for what lies ahead. May your next 75 years be even more successful than the last and I wish you the very best of luck.

Thank you.

Mr. President, today I received a letter from Clarence Streit, a moving spirit in the international movement for Atlantic Union, in which he comments on the leadership and the inspiration that ESTES KEFAUVER gave to him and to the Atlantic Union group.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Streit's letter be printed as an additional fitting tribute to this great, tall statesman from Tennessee.

INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR ATLANTIC UNION,
Washington, D.C., August 13, 1963.

DEAR WAYNE: In the tributes paid thus far to ESTES in the Senate and House, I have been shocked by the omission of any reference to the pioneering leadership he gave to Atlantic Union. I have noted with no less astonishment a similar silence in the New York Times, the Washington Post, and other papers—with the notable exception of an article in the Daily News by Edward Meeman, of the Memphis Press-Scimitar. He concluded:

"Senator KEFAUVER's exposure of gangsters and his fight on monopoly were spectacular. But I will wager that he will have a

great place in history as the statesman who more than any other, pioneered in behalf of the Federation of the Free."

I say "Amen." From the start of his Senate career in 1949 when he was chief sponsor of the Atlantic Union resolution, he remained a prime mover for Atlantic unification. He reintroduced that resolution twice. Then, because he felt it would help to have the leadership come from a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, he stepped aside when the resolution was introduced the last time, and helped energetically from the ranks to secure its adoption in 1960. He led no less in founding and building up the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference.

When ESTES entered the Senate there was no talk I heard there of even such things as "the Atlantic Community." It is a measure of his courage, vision, and steadfastness that such talk is now commonplace, and that President Kennedy, speaking at Frankfurt June 25 could say that "we look forward to a United Europe in an Atlantic partnership" and could see eventually taking shape "a new great Union of us all." Meanwhile, on the Republican side, Governor Rockefeller has come out for uniting the free by the "Federal idea," Richard Nixon has urged transforming NATO into a "political confederation," and in the Telstar discussion July 10 former President Eisenhower agreed with former Prime Minister Eden that Atlantic federation is "the final objective."

To join in ignoring, in these circumstances, the trailblazing leadership of Senator KEFAUVER will not add to the Senate's luster when the history of the United States of Atlantica comes to be written. I hear that the Senate is setting aside time soon for tributes to ESTES, and I am sure your own statement then will show a much better sense of values than any of the eulogies I have yet read in the Congressional Record.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

CLARENCE STREIT.

Mr. President, in the issue of Tuesday, August 13, 1963, the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard published a beautiful tribute to the late ESTES KEFAUVER under the editorial heading "The U.S. Senate Loses a Giant." I ask that this beautiful editorial may be printed. It is an editorial which in my judgment pays a most deserved tribute to a great senatorial giant.

THE U.S. SENATE LOSES A GIANT

In the death of ESTES KEFAUVER last weekend, the U.S. Senate lost one of its outstanding Members. He more than held his own in

the Senate, a body which, on the average, is as able as any political body on earth. Mr. KEFAUVER was conscientious, dogged, friendly, keenly intelligent. And he never cheapened himself by playing to prejudice and hate the way many southern Senators, to their discredit, have done.

In the Senate he was best known for his investigations into crime, drugs prices, boxing scandals, and collusion in pricing electrical equipment. He was less well known for his championship of the international point of view and for his work in civil rights legislation. He was a champion of civil rights before such a thing was the fad. In 1954 he was one of the few Senators from his region who refused to attack the Supreme Court's decision on school desegregation.

Twice, he tried to be President. With a refreshing candor, while other candidates were playing coy and hoping to be drafted, Mr. KEFAUVER went after the nomination. "I'd very much like to be President," he said upon a number of occasions. In 1952 he entered 14 State primaries and won in 10 of them, including Oregon's, which he carried 5 to 1.

He campaigned intensively in Oregon in both 1952 and 1956. In 1952, on a fast tour through the Willamette Valley, an observer with a wristwatch noted that he signed 2 autographs and shook 23 hands in 60 seconds. His 1956 visit to Springfield was marked by his leading a bagpipe band, using a broom for a baton.

The combination of fate, circumstance, and politics kept him out of the White House. For all that the voters in States with preferential primaries liked him, his fellow politicians felt less kindly toward him. Southern Democrats regarded him as too liberal on the race issue. Northern pols wanted to get even with him for exposing the tie-ins between Tammany Hall and organized crime. In 1952 he lost the nomination to Stevenson. Again in 1956 Stevenson got the nomination, with KEFAUVER settling for the Vice Presidential spot. But those weren't Democratic years. No Democrat could have beaten Eisenhower.

Unfortunately, many Americans never really saw behind the coonskin cap image that the Senator affected in an effort to seem like folks. He was folks, in a way. Genuinely friendly and easy, he did like people. But he was no hillbilly. When he talked, a person heard Yale Law School as much as he heard the hills of Tennessee. The hillbilly image, which he sought to build up, really didn't fit him very well. One wonders what would have been his political fate if he had played it straight, admitting that he was really as much of an egghead as Stevenson.

Another side to the man, not generally appreciated, was his interest in Congress, as such. He served in it for 24 years—9 in the House, 15 in the Senate. Early in his congressional career he was

the coauthor of an important little book, "Twentieth Century Congress." That book was a major influence in the congressional reforms of the 1940's.

Unloved as he was among many Democratic politicians, he had the respect of his fellow Senators. He played the game according to the rules, kept his word, and demonstrated that he was always a man to be reckoned with, and always a gentleman.

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